FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-142
Monday
25 July 1988

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FBIS-EEU-88-142 *25 July 1988*

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Daily Reports on East Bloc Foreign Debts

AU1207121588 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 12 Jul 88 p 14

[Text] Basel, 11 July—During the second half of 1987 there were only slight changes in the terms of international bank loans, but there were important changes with regard to some groups of countries and individual states. The changes in terms of new loans and open promises of loans were influenced and distorted by the very low dollar rate at that time and the stock exchange crash in October. The most important fact of the new statistics on due dates compiled by the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) in Basel for the second half of 1987 is, however, that the terms of foreign currency loans for the East Bloc have been considerably shortened.

The statistics show that the GDR "raised by far the highest number of new foreign currency loans among all East Bloc countries" during the second half of 1987. The increase amounted to $0.9 billion. But the new loans had considerably shorter terms. The proportion of GDR loans with fixed terms of more than 2 years decreased from 46.7 to 43.9 percent. The decline probably continued during the first half of 1988. This is considered as sign of greater caution on the part of Western banks in view of the considerable increase of East Berlin's debts. The high number of new loans also confirms that the GDR has gained considerable advantages in importing Western goods, which at the moment provides it with a strong position within the East Bloc economy. But Western creditors point out that East Berlin will probably not be able to sustain this policy for long. It is stressed that, like Hungary, the GDR, too, will soon enter the "stage of repayment." Then more foreign currency has to be used for the repayment of loans and for interests so that imports decrease and the East Berlin economy will have to tighten its belt. Large Swiss banks even think that the high foreign currency debts are a mortgage of the "Honecker regime," which the present party chief will leave to his successors.

In 1987 the GDR's entire foreign currency debts amounted to $14.96 billion, according to the BIS statistics. The statistics do no show in which currencies the GDR has incurred most of its debts, but the West German mark probably occupies first rank. Of East Berlin's total loans, $6.79 billion has to be repaid within 12 months according to the contracts, provided that the Western banks do not prolong these short-term loans; $2.34 billion have terms up to 24 months, and $6.57 have terms of more than 2 years. BIS was not able to find out the terms of the remaining loans of $161 million. In comparison: Of the Soviet Union's total foreign currency debts of $32.2 billion, $13.3 billion are due within 12 months, while Hungary has managed to negotiate terms of more than 2 years for almost two-thirds of its total debts of $12.44 billion.

Foreign currency loans of East Bloc countries as of 31 December 1987 (in billions of dollars)

Country	Total debts	Loans due within		
		up to 1 yr	up to 2 yrs	more than 2 yrs
Total debts	83.54	30.82	10.13	40.62
of those:				
Albania	0.06	0.06		
Bulgaria	5.25	no information		
CSSR	4.23	2.28	0.49	1.42
GDR	14.96	6.79	2.44	6.57
Hungary	12.44	3.22	0.61	8.06
Poland	11.91	3.32	2.46	6.00
Romania	2.43	no information		
USSR	32.21	13.30	2.78	15.57

Source: BIS, Basel

More on Jaroszek Pact Session Press Conference

AU2207111988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jul 88 p 6

[Report by Janusz Moszczenski: "Partnership, Joint Responsibility, and Respect for Differences"]

[Text] After the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states had ended, Henryk Jaroszek, a vice minister in the ministry of foreign affairs, who has been serving as general secretary of the Political Consultative Committee for the period since the Berlin session of the Political Consultative Committee held last year until the end of the Warsaw session, gave a press conference at the INTERPRESS Press Center.

The press conference was attended by many Polish journalists and foreign correspondents accredited to the session. The conference was chaired by Jan Grzelak, director and editor-in-chief of INTERPRESS. Vice Minister Jaroszek delivered an opening statement, which appears on page 4.

He then replied to questions put to him by journalists. The questions focused on several sets of issues. They included: Poland's role as the host country and organizer of the session; parallels between the documents adopted at the session and the main elements of the Jaruzelski Plan (questions were asked about this by journalists from Polish Television and INTERPRESS); the expansion, enhancement, and development of the mechanisms of cooperation within the Warsaw Pact framework; and the verification of the extent to which documents that had been previously adopted have been implemented (questions were asked about this by journalists from TRYBUNA LUDU, ZYCIE WARSZAWY, and the Spanish newspaper LA VANGUARDIA). Western journalists (from the Italian newspaper LA REPUBBLICA and the British newspaper THE GUARDIAN) were interested in, among other things, questions connected with the state of contacts between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and the question of bilateral issues discussed at the session.

In reply, Vice Minister Jaroszek said, among other things, that it had been decided to convey copies of the session documents to the general secretary of NATO. He added that the pact had always expressed support for the exchange of military information on subjects such as nuclear doctrine and the exchange of data on the state of armed forces, and had not just decided to do so at the latest session.

Vice Minister Jaroszek said that, as far as bilateral relations within the Pact were concerned, they had not been discussed in the sense that the representatives of one state had commented on the situation in another state. However, in their speeches the representatives of individual states reported on certain internal issues, achievements, shortcomings, and problems. So, one can say that in this sense these matters were raised at the session, but as the leaders of individual states saw fit.

However, the domestic affairs of individual states were not discussed and are not, as a rule, discussed at sessions, which are joint alliance bodies. Individual delegations did, nevertheless, report on various aspects of the domestic situation in their countries.

The session communique expressed approval of the processes of change, transformations, and restructuring and renewal programs in the socialist countries.

A series of answers that Vice Minister Jaroszek gave to some of the questions asked by journalists merits fuller treatment.

A representative of Polish television news asked if Poland had initiated the formulations contained in the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee document on negotiations on reducing conventional forces and arms in Europe that coincide with the content of the Jaruzelski Plan.

The reply was: "As host and organizer of the session, Poland drew up all the draft documents, including the draft declaration. The proposals were then the subject of multilateral discussion among all the allied states. Discussions were first held at the expert level, then at the vice minister of foreign affairs level, and finally at the foreign minister level. The foreign ministers then submitted the documents to the heads of the allied states."

An INTERPRESS representative was interested in the extent to which the ideas contained in the Jaruzelski Plan were reflected in the documents adopted by the Political Consultative Committee.

Vice Minister Jaroszek noted with satisfaction that there are parallels between the declaration on reducing weapons and conventional forces and the ideas contained in the Jaruzelski Plan. In general, it can be said that the all the documents adopted at the session and, in particular, the document on armed forces and weapons in Europe, is closely connected with the Jaruzelski Plan, as well as with other disarmament initiatives announced by individual allied states. The points of convergence between our initiative and the Political Consultative Committee document particularly apply to reducing conventional weapons and confidence-building measures. Separate sections are devoted to this in both the document and the plan, and preventing the possibility of sudden attack and the removal of existing disparities and imbalances in armed forces are treated in a similar fashion. Some aspects of the Jaruzelski Plan give concrete form to suggested actions proposed by the Warsaw Pact states, especially with regard to Central Europe. The plan indicates, for example, what concrete categories of conventional weapons that have the greatest destabilizing effect could be the subject of discussion and the reaching of agreement.

In the document, the Political Consultative Committee proposes the creation of zones or belts with reduced weapon levels on both sides of the point of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Europe. We believe that the Jaruzelski Plan could serve as a starting point for the creation of zones of this kind. Vice Minister Jaroszek stressed: "In general, I can say that the position of the Warsaw Pact as a whole accords fully with the initiatives of individual states. In our opinion, the fact that our joint position and these initiatives complement the Jaruzelski Plan makes the Polish proposal more attractive."

Asked by a TRYBUNA LUDU representative if it was decided at the Warsaw session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee to expand or enhance the mechanisms of cooperation or collaboration between our states in the political and military spheres, Vice Minister Jaroszek gave the following reply: "Yes, improving the mechanisms of collaboration in the political sphere is a constant and continuous process. Recently, it has gained significantly greater momentum. This was evidenced by the establishment at the Berlin session of two new organs (the multilateral group for the mutual exchange of current information and the special commission for disarmament affairs). A decision was also made at the current session on work connected with the further strengthening of cooperation; this particularly applies to the coordination of foreign policy among the states belonging to our alliance. It can be said that the work is progressing very positively. The work is taking into account the qualitatively new situation within the community and the world as a whole. What is emerging is partnership, respect for different appraisals and opinions of the issues under discussion and a greater sense of common responsibility for joint international initiatives and the initiatives launched by individual states belong to the Pact. Debate is characterized by—and this was the case on this occasion—an atmosphere of sincerity and openness. All the members of the alliance are becoming increasingly active. One example of the way in which the mechanisms of cooperation can be improved is to adopt the principle that sessions of the Political Consultative Committee be held at regular intervals. At one time they were convoked every once in a while, and now they are held once a year. The Foreign Ministers Committee also

meets regularly, twice a year, once in the fall and once in the spring. There are also many regular and occasional meetings of groups of experts called by the Foreign Ministers Committee and devoted to various issues ranging from nuclear-free zones to problems connected with cooperation in the humanitarian field. Press communiques are always released after meetings of these working groups, to provide those who are interested with an idea of what was discussed.

Vice Minister Jaroszek also said that consideration was being given to the possibility of expanding and increasing the prerogatives of the general secretary of the Political Consultative Committee. This is one of the issues that will be examined by appropriate groups of experts from the angle of improving the mechanisms of alliance collaboration. A journalist representing ZYCIE WARSZAWY also expressed an interest in this question. Vice Minister Jaroszek said: "As far as new bodies and mechanisms are concerned, the session advised that the Foreign Ministers Committee and the Defense Ministers Committee consider, examine, and, at the next session, will submit possible proposals concerning new forms of improving the mechanisms of collaboration, and, if there is a need, the setting up of new organs. But this has not been settled."

Closing the press conference, Vice Minister Jaroszek stated that the session had appointed C. Oancea, Romanian vice minister of foreign affairs, to be general secretary of the Political Consultative Committee, and had decided to hold the next session in Bucharest.

U.S. INF Inspectors Conclude Activities

End of CSSR Inspections

LD2207162288 Prague CTK in English 1542 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 22 (CTK)—A group of ten U.S. experts ended today their first inspection of a former missile site on Czechoslovak territory in connection with the Soviet-U.S. treaty scrapping medium- and shorter-range missiles.

After signing a report on the inspection in the area of Hranice near Prerov in Moravia, the group left with a Soviet and Czechoslovak escort for Prague.

Colonel Ivan Abrosimov, who headed the Soviet escort, told CTK that "Czechoslovakia completely fulfilled all commitments resulting for it from the adopted documents", i.e. the Czechoslovak-Soviet-GDR agreement on inspections under which Czechoslovakia was obliged to allow the inspectors to enter the country and to ensure transport and accommodation for them.

This morning, the U.S. inspectors checked several more former action stations and other installations which had been used until last March by a Soviet missile unit. The shorter-range SS 12 missiles have since been withdrawn from Czechoslovak territory and the installations are being converted to serve the needs of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

Head of the U.S. inspectors' group Lawrence G. Kelly told CTK that conditions had been prepared very carefully for the inspection. All four former action stations, including all parts constituting one installation covered by the agreement, were checked. He said that appropriate conclusions had been drawn but he was not authorized to make the results public. He noted that the group's activity was in complete harmony with the provisions of the treaty and voiced the conviction that the role of the inspection was fulfilled, also thanks to the effort of the Soviet and Czechoslovak sides.

Lawrence Kelly highly praised Czechoslovakia's role in ensuring the inspection and creating conditions for the work of the American group.

Colonel Jiri Dvorak of the Czechoslovak Defence Ministry, member of the Czechoslovak escort told CTK that "throughout the stay and inspection, members of the U.S. group acted correctly and fully in the spirit of the Soviet-U.S. treaty".

In the evening, the ten U.S. inspectors left Prague for Frankfurt by a Hercules 130 military aircraft. They were seen off at Ruzyne Airport by representatives of the Czechoslovak and Soviet foreign ministries and the Czechoslovak People's Army and the Soviet Army.

Departure From Leipzig

LD2307181988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1714 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 23 Jul ADN—A group of U.S. inspectors today ended their work on GDR territory. They were seen off at Leipzig's Schkeuditz Airport by representatives of the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Defense, and the Moscow Center for the Reduction of the Nuclear Risk of the staff of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany.

Since Friday the U.S. inspectors have been examining Soviet installations with SS-23 missiles near Weissenfels and Jena-Forst on the basis of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

As already reported, two U.S. groups inspected the former installations of Waren, Wokuhl, Bischofswerda and Koenigsbrueck from 18 to 20 July. SS-20 missiles had been stationed there until February 1988.

Economic Talks With Turkey Conclude in Sofia

AU2207185288 Sofia BTA in English
1805 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Sofia, July 22 (BTA)—The signing of an aide-memoire brought to a close the economic talks between Bulgaria and Turkey here today. After two days of negotiations on the promotion of cooperation in trade, industry, agriculture, tourism and transport, the heads of the two delegations, Mr Khristo Khristov, minister at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of Bulgaria, and Mr Tansug Bleda, deputy foreign minister for economic affairs of Turkey, signed the document on the results of the second session of the Joint Bulgaro-Turkish Economic Commission.

In a constructive atmosphere, the sides considered the opportunities for a promotion of bilateral cooperation in various fields.

Mr Tansug Bleda was received by Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, and by Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations.

Talks With Turkey on Political Issues End

AU2207201588 Sofia BTA in English
1913 GMT 22 Jul 88

["Second Session of the Joint Bulgaro-Turkish Working Group on Political Issues"—BTA headline]

[Text] Ankara, July 22 (BTA)—The Joint Bulgaro-Turkish Working Group on Political Issues, established in keeping with the Bulgaro-Turkish protocol signed on February 23, 1988, met for its second session in Ankara on July 21 and 22, 1988.

The heads of the two delegations—Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, and Mr Nushet Kandemir, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Turkey, considered the questions listed under item one on the agreed agenda of the working group: measures to strengthen mutual trust and to improve the atmosphere, a joint declaration containing the principles of good-neighbourliness, friendship and cooperation, humanitarian matters, and cooperation in the sphere of the mass media. The sides set forth in detail their respective views and exchanged documents on them. They agreed to continue the study of the documents, as well as the exchange of views in the next period within the framework of the joint working group on political issues.

The remaining items on the agreed agenda of the joint working group were considered at sessions of two ad hoc subgroups. The sides exchanged views on the fulfilment of the "agreed details" signed during the first session of the joint Bulgaro-Turkish working group held in Sofia on May 11, 1988.

With a view to preparing a joint engineering plan for the mouth of the border river Rezovska, as envisaged in that document, they agreed to exchange individual engineering plans within three months and, thirty days after the exchange, to meet and determine the principles of joint engineering work.

The sides exchanged views on combatting international terrorism and agreed to continue the discussion at their next meeting.

The sides confirmed the understanding that by the end of 1988, talks will be held between competent representatives of the customs services to discuss the implementation of the agreement on cooperation in the prevention of the illicit carriage of goods and objects across the frontier between the two countries of February 26, 1988 and to intensify the joint efforts to control this carriage.

The sides will continue their constructive discussions on consular services on the basis of the existing agreements between them. It was agreed that, on the basis of reciprocity, an agreed regime will be drafted for the movement of diplomatic and consular agents.

The sides agreed to continue the negotiations on their unsolved property and financial problems.

The head of the Bulgarian delegation, Mr Ivan Ganev, was received by Mr A. Mesut Yilmaz, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, and by Mr Adnan Kahveci, minister of state.

TU Official Encourages Balkan TU Meeting

AU2107171788 Sofia BTA in English
1514 GMT 21 Jul 88

["Before the First Balkan Trade Union Meeting"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 21 (BTA)—Mr Kosta Andreev, secretary of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, stood for more active engagement of trade unions and working people from the Balkan countries in the struggle for preservation of peace, for strengthening of the good-neighbour relations and friendship in the peninsula. At a press conference he expressed the conviction that the first meeting of trade union leaders from the Balkan countries since World War II, which will take place on July 26 and 27 in Belgrade, will give strong impetus to the comradely communications between the working people in the region and to the open actions for consolidation of peaceful cooperation in the Balkans, Europe and in the world.

Mr Kosta Andreev gave a positive assessment of the relations between trade unions in the region. This estimation is supported by the regional conferences of the trade unions from the branches of energy, chemistry,

trade, and by the meeting in Sofia which was held in 1987 of the Dublin Committee "Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones, Working People and Trade Unions."

The Bulgarian trade unions maintain close cooperation with the trade unions of Romania, Greece and Yugoslavia.

Mr Kosta Andreev stressed the existing opportunities for broadening of bilateral and multilateral trade union cooperation, for active exchange of opinions on social and economic problems which refer concretely to the working people and trade unions from the Balkan countries. The problems of working conditions, material and social condition, the training of personnel, as well as many other topics can also be discussed.

Prague CEMA Session Results Evaluated

AU1207200088 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian Issue No. 28 11 Jul 88 p 6

[Article by Ventsislav Dimitrov, senior scientific fellow and candidate of economic sciences: "Will There Be a Socialist Common Market? —Assessing the Results of the Prague CEMA Session"]

[Text] The 44th CEMA Session held in Prague was awaited with high interest. This interest was not only because of the session taking place immediately following the 19th CPSU Conference, but also because a new approach to the problems of economic cooperation among socialist countries was submitted at the session. As it appears from the reports on the session, a critical evaluation of the previously achieved results of cooperation was made during the debates, a slowing down in the rate of development of the integration processes was established, and new methods were sought to improve the mechanism of integration. An idea, strongly supported by our country, of creating a common market of the CEMA member states was launched for the first time at the aforementioned session. This should be a market in which commodities, services, and other factors of production may freely circulate.

What are the reasons for this idea? In the first place we should point out that the crucial changes occurred in the economic mechanism and in the management structure of numerous socialist countries—namely that full independence has been granted to economic units, including those engaged in foreign trade activities, and that the paralyzing close control [opeka] of more highly placed organs over economic organization has been eliminated. Important changes have occurred in the political sector as well—such as the application of a new approach which is basically characterized by an objective attitude toward the realities of our contemporary world.

This new approach made it possible to conclude an agreement between CEMA and the EEC, while our country accomplished steps for the beginning of bilateral negotiations with the EEC, and prior to that—steps for joining GATT as a member.

Other important reasons are connected with the exacerbation of certain problems pertaining to economic cooperation within CEMA. This pertains, above all, to the impossibility of implementing the cooperation processes in connection with changes in the economic mechanisms through administrative-command methods. While such methods were appropriate, to a certain extent, in the recent past, the fact that the center of adopting decisions in the economic sector has now shifted to the enterprises, there is no one left to impose decisions and to control their implementation, unless the enterprises themselves are specifically interested. An approach such as that of the past within the CEMA framework, envisaged a centralized decision about what and how much a given country should produce, sell, or purchase, even if such decisions were adopted on the basis of preliminary negotiations.

This approach had a certain advantage—since because of it, a nearly unlimited market was open to our electronic and machine building industrial branches. Nevertheless, such a security guaranteed in advance, at a certain stage, becomes a major obstacle to development—being deprived of incentives and of the pressure of competition which stimulate steady improvements and modernization, deprived of a direct link with consumers. On the world market, however, fierce competition makes it necessary to withdraw poor quality goods, which have no chance of being accepted. Hence, the differentiation between the first and second trend—a difference which is not to our advantage and which is visible to everyone, even to children who enter a foreign currency store.

Another crucial problem is the concentration of mutual trade among CEMA member countries mainly in the sphere of production means and the neglect of consumer goods. The goal of socialism, however, is not to produce for the sake of production, but to expand and diversify consumption. According to the academician Aganbegyan, the output of production means is increasingly directed toward the satisfaction of one's own needs, namely without an outlet [izkhod] toward consumption. On the other hand, in an economic system, the consumer is the final evaluator of production—with his choice and preferences he evaluates the quality of everyone's work and determines what everyone should earn. In none of the capitalist countries, for example, is the export share of machines and equipment as high as in our countries. Is this a criterion of efficiency?

The most important problem is the question of how to use the commodity-monetary relations as efficiently as possible, relations which were underestimated and suppressed in the recent past. The concept of a socialist

common market attributes a role of crucial importance to the interests of efficiency, to the transition from an economy based on administrative-command methods to an economic system which is based on market conditions and competition, and which guarantees high quality in the international sphere.

Nevertheless, for the time being there are many obstacles obstructing this transition. In the first place, we must point out the different pace of economic reforms in the individual socialist countries. Independence granted to enterprises to produce and keep part of the profits, to apply self-financing and self-management methods is in process in our country, in Hungary, the Soviet Union, Poland, and the CSSR, but not in countries such as the GDR and Hungary.

If in certain countries the power of decision lies with the ministries, while in other states the ministries have no such powers, (or are even non-existent), it is obvious that problems are bound to emerge, even if they are not insoluble. Prices are another important factor—so far they were determined within CEMA on a centralized basis, but if a certain enterprise is not interested, it will fail to implement any long-term, or short-term program that has been set up in advance. Interest always has only one dimension—namely benefit expressed in money.

The question is what kind of money are we talking about? Is it the national currency of a contracting country, or the currency of a third country? Hence, the necessity of a decisive reform in the financial-payment relations within CEMA. Every enterprise engaged in international relations should own foreign currency, to make the necessary purchases, but also to convert this currency into its "own" national currency so as to be able to pay wages and cover other expenses. The present system under which the convertible ruble plays the key role does not provide such opportunities.

In the first place, the problem emerges in connection with bilateral relations between enterprises. From this point of view the agreements signed between our country, the Soviet Union, and the CSSR on the use of national currencies under bilateral relations can be considered as a first step toward the introduction of convertible national currencies among socialist countries envisaging the introduction of capitalist countries' currencies at a later stage. This is the only guarantee for a more extensive recognition of national labor. It will make it possible for "our" capital—our free financial resources—to circulate on an international scale. Prerequisites for this have already been created in some socialist countries through the establishment of commercial banks and the introduction of stocks and bonds. All this, even if it could be achieved only in part, is likely to solve the difficult problem of implementing active trade balances—since today they actually cannot be used, because of the absence of agreed upon commodity quotas [stokov contingent].

The decisions adopted at the session show that so far not everyone agrees with the prompt introduction of such a market, although the overwhelming majority of the member countries is in favor of adopting first steps in this direction. For a certain period the use of administrative-centralized approaches seems to be inevitable, as it happens in the case of domestic economic relations.

Results of 20 July Government Session Reported
AU2307142888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Jul 88 p 1

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Convened; Discussing Conditions and Prerequisites of Implementing a One-Tier Exchange Rate of Czechoslovak Koruna; Expanded Powers of People's Control Committees in Enterprises Manufacturing Inferior-Quality Products Approved; Plan of Main Government Tasks and Draft Program of CSSR People's Control Committee Activities in Second Half-Year 1988 Discussed"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—At its Wednesday [20 July] plenary session, the CSSR Government discussed the plan of its main tasks and the draft plan of the CSSR People's Control Committee activities for the second half of 1988.

The CSSR Government will primarily focus on tasks providing prerequisites for implementing the policy adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress and the fifth and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions and based on the government's program statement, especially on restructuring the economic mechanism and further developing socialist democracy. The government will discuss the results of the 44th CEMA session in Prague and adopt appropriate conclusions. Inter alia, the CSSR People's Control Committee will concentrate on providing for the production and deliveries of spare parts for passenger cars and trucks; assess how the principles of the comprehensive experiment for enhancing the independence and responsibility of selected organizations are being implemented; and analyze the demands on Czechoslovak investments in the construction of the Karachaganak gas project in the Urals.

On the basis of a previous resolution on introducing a one-tier exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna in the national economy (adopted this year), the government dealt with the conditions and prerequisites of introducing it on 1 January 1989 and decided on the exchange rate. The adopted measures are aimed at attaining a basic objectivization of the exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna, as an important management tool in terms of value, an essential part of the economic reform, and simultaneously a sign of respect for the appropriate Czechoslovak commitments within the GATT framework.

The CSSR People's Control Committee reported to the government on the evaluation of the overall impact of measures for improving the quality of production in Czechoslovak enterprises, adopted in December 1986 by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government. Quality control through people's control committees has been introduced in 56 enterprises which are producing goods important both for the domestic market and for import, and which have been fighting problems with quality for some time. The decisive causes of inferior quality could be removed in 22 enterprises. The protracted pressure to improve quality (via warning letters sent by federal and national people's control committee chairmen to 79 other enterprises) has also mostly produced positive results. Nevertheless, the committee report states, the executive staff in most production organizations continues to tolerate bad work and violations of technological discipline. Production organization and management (including control) are not sufficiently effective there, and individual staff members are not adequately motivated to try and improve the quality. According to the report, in the absolute majority of enterprises checked upon, the situation improved after the introduction of technical, organizational, and systematic measures which did not ask for extensive financial or other resources. Since 1986 the people's control committees have stopped the production of inferior goods to the tune of Kcs672.4 million; in this context they levied 2,850 fines in accordance with the labor code, with an overall financial impact amounting to Kcs3.6 million. Moreover, the enterprises were hit by additional levies to the tune of more than Kcs60 million.

On the basis of the report, the government approved expanding the authority of the people's control committees to introduce a special control regimen (even without the direct participation of control agencies) on the basis of verified suggestions from domestic and foreign trade organizations in those organizations which are fulfilling their economic commitments with goods of inferior quality. The government also stressed the significance of a possible recourse against commercial and production organizations accepting the delivery of goods of a quality inferior to that defined or agreed upon.

After hearing the report of the minister of labor and social affairs on the present state of vocational training and temporary employment of foreign nationals in Czechoslovak organizations, and on the prognosis on this cooperation up to 1990, the CSSR Government adopted a resolution stating that the employment of foreign nationals should be stabilized on the level reached toward the end of 1987. Since the transportation and language tuition costs for these people will be borne (beginning with next year) by the Czechoslovak organizations which will be employing them, the interest of these organizations can be expected to dwindle.

The government then discussed the results of the 28th session of the CSSR-GDR Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation; the 12th session of the CSSR-Cuban Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation; the proposal to conclude an agreement between the Governments of the CSSR and of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau on cooperation in medical care and medical sciences; and the proposal to conclude an agreement between the Governments of the CSSR and the Republic of Iraq on the mutual recognition of the equal validity of documents on education, and of scientific degrees and diplomas.

In the next part of its session the government dealt with the proposal on the management of agriculture under the conditions prevalent during the process of restructuring the economic mechanism. It decided to propose that the present regional and district agricultural administrations be disbanded by 31 December 1988; in this context the CSSR Federal Assembly will be presented with a proposal to abrogate the corresponding Law No 37/1972 of the Sbirka Zakonu. The execution of management functions belonging to the Ministry of Agriculture and Food (which follow particularly from the laws on state enterprises and on agricultural cooperatives, and from other generally binding legal norms) concerning state enterprises with agricultural production, unified cooperative farms, and joint enterprises will be provided for by regional ministerial organizations. At the same time these regional organizations will be employing 50 percent less people than are now employed by the existing agricultural administrations.

Increase in Austrian Neo-Nazi Activity Noted

AU2207122388 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Jul 88 p 7

[Jozef Janto article in the "Foreign Policy Note" column: "The Plague Must Be Prevented From Spreading"]

[Text] The list of neo-Nazi actions, during which innocent people get killed, grows longer by the year. The brown plague exists not only in the FRG, but also in Austria (as well as in some other Western states, including the United States). Former active, and frequently unpunished, Nazis are spreading it, mostly among unemployed young people, who easily succumb to nihilism.

For example, last year 150 local secondary school teachers in the Austrian city of Wels sent a petition to the City Council protesting against the increasing activities of the neo-Nazis; the neo-Nazis had even threatened them with the gallows simply because they had taken their students to visit the former concentration camp in Mauthausen. Rallies of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft, among other things, are held in Wels, under the aegis of some local politicians.

But neo-Nazi actions are nothing unusual in many other Austrian cities, including Vienna. The trial of a group called Illegal National Front for German Freedom, which was manufacturing weapons and disseminating leaflets with incendiary slogans, was held in Klagenfurt. In Vienna recently, the police arrested more than 20 neo-Nazis who were attacking foreign workers at border crossings and brawling in the streets of the capital. Instances of defacement of memorials to the victims of Nazism are frequent and recently there have been increasing displays of anti-Semitism, which has gained in strength particularly following the criticism of President K. Waldheim by Jewish organizations.

This behavior became so blatant that the highest state agencies had to address the issue. Yesterday [19 July] the Austrian press reported that on Monday [18 July] the Constitutional Court had determined that the activity of the National Democratic Party (NDP) was unconstitutional because its program contains racist and other ideas which, in essence, correspond to the national socialist ideology of the former Hitlerite NSDAP [National Socialist German Workers Party]. For example, the NDP actively addresses the public with such slogans as the "preservation of German unity," and the protection of the "threatened lebensraum of the German nation," and, in essence, as the Constitutional Court expressed it, it has adopted the "content and terminology of the former NSDAP."

It is absolutely clear that this legal party supported and was taking under its wing all the neo-Nazi gangs and their nefarious deeds. The fact that an Austrian court arrived at this verdict is positive. But a single judicial decision does not solve the problem—the spread of the brown plague must be resolutely prevented. For it can threaten not only Austrian domestic policy, but—ultimately—also Austria's relations with its neighbors and other countries.

Joint Troop Exercises With USSR Begin

LD2407103688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1007 GMT 24 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 24 Jul (ADN)—The announced joint troop exercise of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany (GSFG) and the GDR National People's Army began today. As planned, the participating troops of the two armies will be transferred to the Brandenburg, Luckenwalde, Eisenhuettenstadt, Peitz, Jessen, and Moeckern area and occupy the concentration regions as ordered.

The exercise, which is led by the general officer commanding an army of the GSFG, is being attended by up to 17,800 soldiers. The objective is to improve the state of training of the staffs and troops in the execution of defense actions.

According to the Stockholm Conference document, observers from all the CSCE member states have been invited. According to information to hand 40 representatives from 20 signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act are expected in the exercise zone Tuesday.

Leadership Approves Pact Session Results

AU2507105988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jul 88 p 1

[Text] The SED Central Committee Politburo, the GDR State Council and the GDR Council of Ministers, accepted and approved the report of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, on the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states in Warsaw from 15 to 16 July 1988. They expressed their appreciation for the work of the GDR delegation headed by Comrade Erich Honecker.

During the meeting, the allied socialist states expressed their satisfaction at the gradual strengthening of the positive tendencies in international relations. With its predictable and constructive policy of dialogue and cooperation, the GDR, full of initiatives, has helped in shaping this development. In the future, too, it will contribute with all its strength to further improving international relations, with the objective of making the initiated change for the better irreversible.

The coming into force of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which reduces for the first time an entire category of arms under unprecedented supervision, opens up a real chance of freeing mankind from the nightmare of a nuclear catastrophe.

At the same time it cannot be overlooked that the opponents of any kind of disarmament are reinforcing their activities.

The Warsaw Pact states now aim at taking, without delay, further steps for the radical reduction of military potentials while maintaining equality and equal security. This concerns the 50-percent reduction in the USSR's and the United States' strategic offensive weapons with strict observance of the ABM Treaty, the reduction in the number of nuclear weapons tests, and their eventual elimination, the complete ban and destruction of chemical weapons, and the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The Politburo, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers especially welcome the concept of conventional disarmament in Europe, worked out by the Warsaw Pact states, as a constructive step toward the preparation of future negotiations and expressed the expectation that the NATO states will react positively to it.

The allied socialist states emphatically call for the inclusion of tactical nuclear weapons in the disarmament process in Europe. A quick solution of this problem would contribute to increasing security on the continent, and would considerably strengthen mutual trust in the "European house."

The Politburo, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers state with satisfaction that the increasing significance of the proposals on disarmament and strengthening peace on a regional basis was especially stressed. With perseverance and consistency, the GDR will continue its initiatives on the creation of a nuclear weapons-free corridor, a chemical weapons-free zone, and a zone of trust and security in central Europe.

It is also urgently necessary to create a comprehensive system of ecological security. All European states could work out internationally binding standards and principles for this by 1992.

The GDR will help with all its strength to implement the steps defined at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee to deepen cooperation between the fraternal states.

The SED Central Committee Politburo, the GDR State Council, and the GDR Council of Ministers are certain that the GDR citizens agree fully and completely with the decisions of the Warsaw Pact meeting of the Political Consultative Committee. With their daily work, in fulfilling the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, they will continue to contribute to strengthening our state and socialism in the interest of securing peace.

Fischer, Premier Papandreou Hold Talks in Athens

LD2207134588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1253 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Athens, 22 Jul (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer was received in Athens today by Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou. Fischer is on an official visit to Greece.

During their exchange of views they agreed that the state visit to Greece by the leading representative of the GDR introduces a new stage in the continuing dynamic bilateral relations.

After their talk, Papandreou talked to journalists. He paid tribute to the GDR's constructive policy of striving for peace and disarmament. He called for closer cooperation between the EC and CEMA states to their mutual advantage. Oskar Fischer said that bilateral relations have attained an excellent level, and are a model for cooperation between states within the framework of the CSCE Final Act.

'New Stage' in Relations Praised

LD2207195288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1817 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Athens, 22 Jul (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer was received by Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou in Athens on Friday. The state of bilateral relations and joint steps for peace and disarmament were discussed during the talk at the end of his official visit to Greece.

After the meeting, the Greek head of state described to journalists the GDR role on the European continent as significant in many spheres. In his constructive talk with Oskar Fischer, two major issues were addressed: the new proposals of the Warsaw Pact states which were submitted at the session of the Political Consultative Committee in the Polish capital, and the promotion of relations between the EC and the CEMA. Papandreou underlined that all states and peoples must be interested in disarmament in particular in the conventional sphere. Greece uses its possibilities here to ascertain and resolutely exploit existing scope for further progress.

Oskar Fischer underlined that his talks in Athens once again confirmed the good state of bilateral relations. They can serve as a model for cooperation between states within the framework of the CSCE Final Act. The unity of their position to achieve peace through disarmament is encouraging. The minister expressed the conviction that the two states will continue to work closely together in this sphere in order to secure the life of present and future generations.

It was agreed at the meeting that Erich Honecker's state visit to Greece had introduced a new stage in bilateral relations, whose dynamic development is continuing.

A joint press statement on the visit stresses that the two states' foreign ministers confirmed the increased convergence or agreement of their approach to the basic issues of the present. The productive exchange of views centered on questions of disarmament and peace preservation. [passage omitted]

On the same day, the GDR politician met Kharilaos Florakis, secretary general of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE). During the meeting the long-standing cooperation between the SED and KKE in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and social progress was praised. Oskar Fischer outlined the results of the talks he conducted with government representatives in the course of his official visit to Greece, which he described as a dialogue between the two peoples for the benefit of solving the vital questions of the present day.

Kharilaos Florakis underlined that the Greek Communists are following the achievement of these goals with close attention and are promoting them with the means at their disposal. Dialogue and the common search for advantageous ways of cooperation for peace preservation are indicators of responsible political action today.

Oskar Fischer also had a meeting with the chairman of the conservative, New Democracy opposition party in Greece, Konstantin Mitsotakis.

Streletz Receives Syrian Army Commander

LD2207110588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0829 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jul (ADN)—On behalf of Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defence, Colonel General Fritz Streletz, deputy defense minister and chief of the Main Staff of the National People's Army, today received Minister Muhammad Ibrahim Ali, commander of the Syrian People's Army. Both sides paid tribute to the friendly relations between the GDR and the Syrian Arab Republic. They underlined the responsibility and contribution of both states for safeguarding peace.

Col Gen Streletz informed his guest about the initiatives and achievements of GDR soldiers in fulfilling the resolutions of the 11th SED Conference. Referring to the latest Warsaw Pact political Consultative Committee session, he stressed the resolve of GDR soldiers and workers to comprehensively strengthen socialism with their high achievements, and to contribute to disarmament, peace, trust, and security. Vice Admiral Guenter Kutzschebauch, chairman of the Society for Sport and Technology, took part in the meeting.

Premier Karoly Grosz Visits California

Meets With Governor

LD2107205388 Budapest MTI in English 1840 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Sacramento, July 21 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and prime minister started his roundtrip of the west coast. Karoly Grosz and his party left Chicago for California on Thursday morning by plane.

In Sacramento the Hungarian premier met Governor George Deukmejian. At the cordial discussion he depicted the economic plans of Hungary and pointed out, among other things, that we search for the possibility of cooperation with all partners under the appropriate conditions. In California, there are several large corporations which have experience with Hungarian companies and are willing to develop joint work. Governor Deukmejian was happy for the Hungarian premier to visit the state of California. During the discussion he mentioned that the role of the Hungarian immigrants in the development of California was important. He emphasized that the administration of the state of California encourages the development of the foreign contacts of local corporations.

Members of the Hungarian delegation met other representatives of the state.

After the short stop-over in Sacramento the plane of the delegation landed in Oakland at the coast of the Bay of San Franciso. Leaders of Bechtel, one of the most important corporations of the world, met the Hungarian premier and his party who were taken on a boat trip to San Franciso, where opportunities of expanding economic cooperation were discussed.

Cooperation between Bechtel and Hungarian companies is already existing as the U.S. firm concluded a contract with the Hungarian "Transelektro" to deliver a computer system, representing high tech, for the control and costing of the 5th and 6th block of the Paks nuclear power plant. Other cooperation possibilities emerged including the participation of Hungarian companies in Bechtel projects. Bechtel already opened an office in Budapest.

At the negotiation with the Hungarian delegation Stephen D. Bechtel, chairman of the Bechtel Corporation's board of directors, Alden P. Yates, president of the Bechtel group, Cordell Hull, the group's deputy president and other CEO's of subsidiaries participated.

Continues Tour

LD2207104088 Budapest MTI in English 0946 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] San Francisco, July 22 (MTI)—According to local time on Thursday evening at the San Francisco World Affairs Council and Commonwealth Club at the presentation of Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and prime minister, on the plans and policies of the Hungarian Government was followed by great interest. [sentence as received]

In the second stage of the official visit of Karoly Grosz he is to visit large towns. At first he made a short visit to Sacramento, where he met Governor George Deukmejian, and then he left for San Francisco. Here, he met the CEO of the Bechtel Corporation during a boat trip in the bay followed by a short sightseeing tour to the Golden Gate Park and Chinatown. In the afternoon the international host committee gave a short reception to the honour of the Hungarian delegation. In the evening an audience of some 400 people attended the presentation organized by the two, above mentioned, organizations.

In his presentation Karoly Grosz emphasized that no Hungarian premier visited the US in the past 42 years. Although our relations were maintained during this period they were characterized by suspicion and mistrust. In the changed world more and more frequently happens that those who previously eyed each other with mistrust shake hands. In this respect he said that the aim of the delegation's visit was to promote the deepening and strengthening of the relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the United States and at the same time to take part in the rapproachment of the nations and widening dialogue.

Karoly Grosz spoke on the present Hungarian situation referring to a period full of problems. The reason is that, although, great results were achieved in the economy but the structure of the economy failed to change appropriately. The gap between the most developed nations and Hungary widened. We lagged behind in scientific-technical development and economic growth slowed down.

Besides the economic problems the Hungarian premier openly discussed other problems with the audience emphasizing, that there is a need to achieve a change in the behaviour of people, in their relation to each other and to the country, to pay more attention to the national culture and at the same time to the results of the [word indistinct] related ideas including the bill of association law which is to provide opportunity to the foreign operating capital. He also pointed out that for reaching such targets the politics should also change.

More democracy is needed to make people live, think and speak more freely.

He went into details on the plans of the association and assembly bills and said a new press law is being prepared because democracy provides more rights not only to the people but to the press, radio and television. He stressed: We want to observe consistently the UNO charter on human rights which are carefully expounded in the final document of Helsinki. Hungary signed these documents and implements their content. We declared for decades that the world needs peace and that disputed issues should be negotiated. In this respect we enlarge our relations with the countries of Western-Europe but we also want to improve relations in other continents especially with the United States. We strive at refreshing and renewing the cooperation between the two countries. He

announced: In this work we expect the contribution of those compatriots of us who, for different reasons, left the country, all of their improving recommendations and proposals are wholeheartedly welcome.

Karoly Grosz received a huge number of question from the audience including his expectations regarding the negotiations with President Reagan.

I would like, first of all, to discuss international politics and bilateral relations with President Reagan. As we see President Reagan pursues a policy in recent years in which not only superpowers but smaller countries have a role. In order to participate actively in the international life a small country should learn the poltical concepts of the superpowers. I could say that we are familiar with the policy of the superpower on our Eastern side. We would like to achieve the same regarding the superpower situated to the West from us—said the prime minister.

Further questions asked the foreign policy of Hungary. Karoly Grosz said, among others, that we want to make gradually organized our relations with Israel. He discussed its conditions with Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres of Israel. At present the ongoing negotiations concentrate on opening a Malev office in Israel and starting regular flights. Karoly Grosz spoke on the recently reached agreement with the EEC.

He went into details on comparing the Hungarian reforms and reforms introduced or planned to be introduced in the Soviet Union. He pointed out: We see the accomplishment of the reforms represented by Mikhail Gorbachev as our national interest. But regardless their development the implementation of the planned political and economic reforms in Hungary continues. He also stressed that the development of the Soviet-US relations influences the Hungarian-US relations but it does not mean a single, determining factor in this respect. Our foreign policy is not made dependent on that and it should serve Hungarian interests—he said.

The audience of businessmen and politicians, including Hungarian born businessmen, applauded several times and several hundreds asked for his autograph. The members of the delegation were approached with interest in business opportunities or simple travel to Hungary.

Friday morning local time the Hungarian delegation meets businessmen at the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, which is followed by a short press conference. The premier is bound for Los Angeles on Friday morning to see Armand Hammer of Occidental Petroleum and in the afternoon he is to participate at the signing of the agreement between the California Council of International Trade and the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce.

Spokesman on Troop Withdrawal, Arms Reduction

LD2207224088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Gyorgy Bernath report on press conference with Foreign Ministry Spokesman Istvan Komoroczki; in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 22 July—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Bernath] [Passage omitted] The Foreign Ministry spokesman replied to journalists' questions. The NEPSZABADSAG correspondent asked what was the basis for the information in the Western press that a unilateral Soviet troop reduction was expected, and that the arena of this would be Hungary.

[Begin Komoroczki recording] Before the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee session, a responsible political leader said that in the Panorama television program on the disarmament endeavors which concern Central Europe and our country. He also emphasized, and we subsequently reaffirm, that the dismantling of weapons, in which our country wishes to participate, is mutual; it can be part of a process launched by both sides. In the framework of the European security and confidence-building measures, we count on the Warsaw Pact countries and the NATO countries beginning this reduction of arms in parallel. Comrade Grosz also emphasized this when he denied that unilateral disarmament would take place in Hungary. [end recording]

[Bermath] [Passage omitted] At the spokesman's press conference, several people asked whether the Hungarian-Romanian dispute had been discussed at the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference, or whether the mediation of the Warsaw Pact or others had been requested.

[Begin Komoroczki recording] We have emphasized several times, and I would like to say again now that we wish, and intend to, resolve this at bilateral forums, through bilateral dialogue, and we believe that the Warsaw Pact is not an appropriate forum for this. [end recording]

[Bernath] Did the possibility arise during the visit to Budapest and Bucharest?

[Begin Komoroczki recording] Neither we, nor they, asked either Italy or any other country to come forward as a mediator, or to assist in bridging the existing differences of view in this dispute. [end recording]

Grosz Interviewed on Role of Party, Ideology

AU2507060188 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Jul 88 pp 3, 4

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz by NEPSZABADSAG Chief Editor Gabor Borbely and NEPSZABADSAG Deputy Chief Editor Pal Eotvos: "We Should Make the Party More Vivid and Dynamic—Interview With Karoly Grosz"—date and place not given]

[Text] Only several weeks have passed since the MSZMP National Conference, an event which according to all indications signifies a change of eras in the Hungarian history of

socialist construction. The long decades of search for the right economic road and the years of strenuous preparations for political reform have been followed by months and weeks which have clarified the situation, role, and methods of the leading party. By making hitherto unspeakable statements, formulating emotions, and showing the way during a period of decreasing confidence, the party conference has reached the front line of this suddenly accelerating political movement.

We asked Karoly Grosz about the most important issues in party life which have been formulated in the recent months.

[Borbely, Eotvos] You recently paid a working visit to the Soviet Union. You have already prepared the initial assessment of your talks with the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. We would like to ask in a wider context: How do the MSZMP National Conference and the 19th CPSU Conference, compare and fit into the general process of renewing socialism?

[Grosz] These two events are still so close to us that it would be very risky to qualify their importance, particularly if one does this not as a contemporary witness but as an active participant. I am not saying this to avoid the question; I am only drawing attention to the fact that however tempting it may be to speak enthusiastically about these two party conferences, we should still maintain reasonable objectivity, although personally I am firmly convinced that the future generations will be able to assess both conferences as historically significant. Both are important and can be significant stages in the general process of renewing socialism. I think their main characteristic is that they have provided political and moral support to solving ripe issues in a decisive and occasionally radical manner. I think that the main goal of the two party conferences—the establishment of modern and democratic socialism—also coincide.

However, while I am genuinely convinced that the two party conferences are historically important, I think we should adhere to the realities and also pay attention to circumstances which might prevent us from transforming possibilities into realities.

Concerning the renewal of socialism, as yet we can "only" speak about an unprecedented great historical potential rather than about a general process. This process has not yet developed in every socialist country, and it has just begun in Hungary.

And we should state that indeed there are many reservations in this respect. As an example, let me recall that the previous OGONEK chief editor recently wrote in this periodical that he accepts the experiments calmly because they do not affect him personally. In the course of his long life, he has had to live through so many new directions that he will also live through the present one. This attitude prevails in the Soviet Union, but naturally there are many similar opinions in Hungary, too.

At the same time, I think it is important to stress that we have every reason to be optimistic. The position of the progressive forces is strengthening both in the Soviet Union, which is a big power, and in our small country. Preparing for my visit to the Soviet Union, I got hold of a few lines by Yevtushenko, words with which I agree: "Economic thought cannot conceivably develop without moral development. Adopting and developing the principle of comprehensive publicity is one of the main moral processes of the present time. This is not a simple process because helplessness and thinking according to whispered suggestions have become entrenched in the minds of some bureaucrats. However, publicity is supported by large masses of people, the authors among them."

At the same time, the international situation which is moving toward detente, is creating favorable objective conditions for the renewal of socialism. We know that joining the mainstream of world economic development is not only a possibility but also a necessity for the socialist countries. This is the only road for us, and if we do not take it, it would be meaningless to talk about the future of socialism. Thus our awareness of this necessity is also an advancing force.

Of the processes under way in our countries, I would only like to mention that in my opinion, one of our greatest values is the process which accompanies renewal in which the young generation replaces the old one, because it is being implemented in an exceptionally humane and dignified manner. Leaving active public life is not a moral and political stigma for anyone. Perhaps it is not exaggerating to say that from this angle we can already see the best in socialism.

[Borbely, Eotvos] We have been experiencing accelerated political life in recent months. Both our domestic and foreign opinion regard this period, with the party conference at the center, as the beginning of a new era. Under such circumstances, a clear delimitation between continuity and the intention to make changes should provide political orientation. Therefore, we ask you to tell us what things we want to continue and what things we have to discard or renew?

[Grosz] A clear delimitation between continuity and the intention to make changes is indeed an important requirement of a responsible policy in every situation. However, I do not think that it is correct to contrast them because we are talking here about a dialectic unity. I would rather use the expression "p[illegible]serving by eliminating."

In other words, of course, we will continue our efforts aimed at ensuring an economic balance, and we will also continue the entire economic reform and the building of the economic basis of socialism with greater energy and more consistently. All this will now gain momentum with the strong development of our political reform which affects the party and its activity, as well as our entire political system. We would have preferred to start the reform with this, or at least, to have started the

economic and political reform simultaneously, as the Soviet Union did, but we will still be able to count on positive interactions. Of course, preserving and enriching our values are also part of the aforementioned continuity and preservation. Within this, national values and the values of socialism play a particularly great role. In connection with all this, I think that the application of a deliberate concept of values is indispensable, since this has not been characteristic of us so far.

As for the things that we will not continue: We will refrain from mystifying concepts in any form, including dogmatic thinking and attitudes; we will not continue the mentality of "let us postpone resolving unpleasant tasks;" we will not eliminate and desert values which need to be preserved (and thus increasing the uncertainty in this area); we will not underestimate intellectuals (when, instead of real appreciation, they have to do with a humiliating pat on the back); we will not push science and theory to the periphery; and we will also stop neglecting education and instruction, and deserting the youth.

However, in order to have a clear view of what needs to be continued and what we have to stop, it is important to correctly interpret the concept of socialism.

In my opinion, we do not need a new image of socialism because, sooner or later, this will again begin to suspiciously resemble paradise on earth.

We need modern socialist concepts, a socialist theory free of illusions; in other words, we need useful standards to be able to correctly evaluate our actions. There is no use in pursuing desires. We must start from realities. It was Hegel who said that not everything that exists is real, only necessary things make up reality. And, in the case of socialism, this necessity is the determined unity of capitalism and communism. Or, as formulated by Marx, or better by Lenin: Socialism is a piece of capitalism in communism. The classics describe all this in detail in their works: "Criticism of the Gotha Program" and "The State and the Revolution." Let us finally clearly state what the theory about socialism has always said, and we should not allow the essential thing to disappear through prosperity considerations.

It is not Marxism that proved to be an incorrect and useless concept, but it was our readiness to understand and adapt that failed. It could do no harm if we were to have discovered the deep reasons of this problem. But everything that is capitalism in socialism, is capitalism, and everything that is communism is communism. They cannot become interwoven just to help us in our momentary conceptual difficulties. Among other things, work is work, and capital is capital, and although the relations between these factors are different, this will not affect their essence for a long time to come. There is no use in painting the capitalist factors of socialism into communist colors—factors inherited from capitalism or factors that have emerged ever since, but which, undoubtedly, have a capitalist character—and thus, create new illusions. At the same time, we must state our principles so that the concrete phenomena can be evaluated in the spirit of these principles.

[Borbely, Eotvos] One of the often quoted sentences of your speech at the recent party conference said: "Therefore, I am convinced that we need one party, more exactly we need a real party." Please, describe the criticism and requirement inherent in the second part of this sentence more in detail.

[Grosz] In my speech, I started from the premise that we would have to rethink the leading role of the party under the conditions of the one-party system prevailing in Hungary, but I also mentioned the fact that, in principle and in the long run, I do not consider a multi-party system to be impossible.

A lot of criticism has been directed at the party lately, and rightly so. However, I do not draw the immediate conclusion from all this criticism that the best thing is to discard this one-party system. As long as we have not thoroughly resolved whether the problem lies within this system itself or rather in the fact that it does not function properly, it would be senseless to discard the system itself. My experience so far tells me that the latter is the case. Our task, therefore, is not to eliminate the one-party system but to make it function effectively.

Starting from the leading role of the party, we must make it clear that in every political system in the world, the party (or the coalition of parties) that rule in a given society will determine the composition of the government and the general principles of its policy. The way in which all this is implemented definitely differs. In some countries, the president who exercises power on behalf of the party holds consultations with various organizations and individuals, by considering the given political factors, and makes decisions concerning both his government and his policy, like in the United States where the parties represent a considerably loose organization. In other countries, like in Great Britain, the head of the ruling party, as prime minister, decides practically alone on the composition and the policy of the government, of course, here too, according to the party's internal power relations. In France, the party leadership plays a greater role. With few exceptions, the head of the party winning the elections becomes prime minister, and thus, party guidance provided to the government does not represent a problem. It is regarded as an internal affair of the party.

As for Hungary, the way to think of this is that the central party leadership will determine the general principles of the policy to be followed by the government, and then the party will employ political means to supervise the implementation of the stipulated political guidelines. Building on the political guidelines of the party, the government will be able to work according to its own

program. However, the general and detailed policy for the government should be determined by the entire party, that is, on the basis of the widest participation of the party members.

The essence of our endeavor is to make the party more vivid and dynamic, to make it similar to what it has been, what it can still be, and what it should be for all of us. One can say that this is now such a universal social interest and a common need that no matter what one's world outlook and political stand are, everybody is obliged to work for it if the prosperity of the homeland is at all important to him. Because only such a party is now able to motivate the entire society. In other words, the idea that whoever is not against us is automatically with us is no longer valid. Today, active cooperation is the only acceptable conduct. We will not force it on people, but we will try to make them realize this. Dezso Keresztury's contribution at the party conference will perhaps help to explain this.

[Borbely, Eotvos] We would like to return to this issue because we are talking about a basic principle underlying MSZMP policy. The question is, what will happen with those who are not actively with us? Will they become excluded? Where will they belong?

[Grosz] In order to make things clear, let me recall that, speaking to economic leaders, I once tried to demonstrate how meaningless this kind of separatism is—in which we have had so much experience—where enterprises withdraw to the background and wait for the others to do the job and get into trouble, while they benefit from their wise waiting. Separatism is meaningless because if this country gets into trouble and falls into the abyss, nobody will be able to hold on here. One cannot separate oneself from this. The other issue we will have to clarify is: Whom do we mean by "with us"? I think we mean not only the party, but also the nation and the country, because this is what we are talking about.

In connection with this slogan, I am not questioning former truths but I think they are not enough for the present. I am referring to interest: The fate of this country has now become the individual interest of each and every man and he should work for it.

[Borbely, Eotvos] We are saying that the MSZMP should shift from being an executive party to being a politically active one. You have interpreted the essence of this change by saying that the MSZMP should change from a guiding party to a leading party. What are the main components and conditions of the change to be implemented?

[Grosz] We are primarily talking about splitting up the decisionmaking system, that is, that the Central Committee or the Politburo should not make decisions on issues with which the government should deal, or at least they should approach the issue to be decided on from a different angle.

Although from the point of view of the Hungarian language there is hardly any conceptual difference between "guiding" and "leading," there is a substantial difference between them from a political point of view. A leading party is democratic—in the noble sense of the word—from the point of view of both its organizational structure and its functioning.

Party guidance is an obsolete concept. The idea and practice which accompanied this concept in the past are such that no matter what we do, they will invariably degenerate into operative interference and dictatorial practices.

We primarily consider the leading role of the party as a principled rather than executive activity. Leadership also has a subjective meaning which I would define as effort, attention, observation, sensitivity, and real vitality—and primarily as an activity which creates the proper conditions.

If we call or would like to call ourselves a leading party, this is how we should perceive this activity. History is not made by leaders or parties, but by the people. The leaders—either people or parties—can create the conditions for this activity, but there is very little else they can do. A clear and attractive idea, a well-formulated goal or program, the setting of examples, organizational and cooperational style, the exploration of the resources, and so on can constitute such favorable conditions. A leading leadership is really "free" when it obeys this nature of things.

This is precisely why we should find and eliminate feudal elements in party activity, like the unjustified hierarchy in party structure, a hierarchy which is accompanied by subjectivism and by mistrust inherited from our period of illegality, and which we have implemented under the pretext of democratic centralism. (Secretive attitudes and the curbing of publicity also demonstrate this.) Therefore, we should achieve that "the party should fit its own idea," that is, that it should be a real revolutionary party.

Therefore we are talking about a process, but it should lead to a qualitative renewal of the party. In principle, this renewal could also be facilitated by the present party membership which is constantly changing as a result of natural substitution; however, it seems more probable that in practice, all this will also be accompanied by a higher than average mobility within the party. The important thing is that those who accept party membership should also accept the present requirements of politics.

Asserting the dialectics of idea-organization-movement is required to renew the functioning of the party organs and increasing their radiating role.

[Borbely, Eotvos] Since we are already talking about formulating the goals, it is now extremely difficult for the party to establish attractive goals. It is easy to set out important and vital goals, but not attractive ones. All the goals are far away

and complex. The goals of Christianity, and generally of all religions, are extremely attractive precisely because they are simple and clear, just like salvation.

[Grosz] I think that the main difficulties do not lie in formulating our goals, but our means of implementing these goals are not good enough and are not in harmony with these goals. That is why conflicts continually emerge between goals and means, and this then leads to disappointment. "You speak, and what you say is beautiful, but you cannot carry it out." This is our real problem. In the past 30 years, we have always declared attractive goals prior to creating the necessary conditions.

[Borbely, Eotvos] And the moment this contradiction became obvious, our first reaction was to declare even more attractive goals, so to speak, to compensate for the previous ones; we outbid ourselves, instead of coming down to earth.

[Grosz] Indeed! That is why our entire national performance has already been promised for the next 50 years.

[Borbely, Eotvos] Please, tell us your opinions about the changed relations between party and non-party members, and between the party and the nation at large.

[Grosz] As it has also transpired from above, there is no need for some kind of "Copernicus-style" change in the relations between party and non-party members. The task is to actually implement the principles that we have always declared. That is, the party considers its leading role to be a service to the working people. Its prestige, however, increasingly depends on the standard of this leading role and on the moral demand of its members, and does not derive from its position of power.

The same is true of the relations between the party and the nation at large. The party considers its task of serving the nation to be one of its basic functions, and the party considers itself an organic part of the nation, and the nation also recognizes this.

Alliance in politics is not something permanent, it must be recreated daily. This refers to us, too.

Let us concentrate, for example, on the national consensus: This consensus is never created by the party but by the actual activity of various classes and other major groups of society. The party's policy of alliance only expresses this consensus. If this policy is good, then this is a favorable condition that will promote the creation of a modern national unity, in our case, a socialist national unity. But, just like any other unity, this is also a unity made up of differences, that is, a real contradiction, or, to put it in a better light, a productive tension that leads to development. In worse cases, this can also mean two extremes: civil war or hopeless stagnation. Fortunately, we are now quite far from either of these extremes.

I repeat: National unity is not a state but a vivid and contradictory process.

[Borbely, Eotvos] A revolutionary new (or revolutionary old?) party that is being built from below and which focuses on basic party organizations is emerging these months as a firm possibility of renewing the party and of implementing its leading role. What is the reality behind this? Are the basic party organizations capable of fulfilling this mission? Are they willing to carry this heavy burden? Are they capable of raising everyday issues to the rank of political ones if these issues demand such treatment, and are they capable of employing essential self-restraint and refraining from making politics out of things that should not be political?

[Grosz] I believe in simultaneous party building both from below and from above. I start from the Leninist interpretation of a unity between "below" and "above" that supplement, strengthen, and presuppose each other.

Stalin's approach was quite the opposite. Preparing for this interview, I copied for myself two characteristic quotes. Let us take Stalin first: "The Bolsheviks have never regarded the party as other than a monolithic organization shaped out of a single block, an organization that has a common will and which unifies every aspect of its way of thinking into a uniform process of practical activity."

We know where this practice led to. It led to a situation which was also predicted by Gramsci, and here is my second quote: "No doubt, there is great power in the unity and homogeneity of a leading group, but this force is sectarian, a masonic-type force, and not one needed by a large ruling party. Political parlance becomes a jargon and the entire atmosphere resembles a secret meeting: If everyone constantly repeats the same slogans and uses the same rigid intellectual schemes, it is really possible to reach the state in which everyone will think the same, because, in the end, nobody will think at all."

In spite of all these, the Leninist principle continues to be valid: "Above" plays an essential role in the division of labor. At most, involvement of theory in the movement will decrease in intensity, because "below" will increasingly develop.

In my view, the emphasis is on the party as a whole. The party is not the Central Committee, the Politburo, nor any other organ, nor the party members, nor an organizational unity made up of the totality of basic party organizations; the party is all these and many other factors together, including the ideological "stock" and the program. No party, or at least a revolutionary workers' party, can exist without any of these factors. We will have to understand this in the future, too, and we will have to stop forcing the basic organizations to play the role of a "watchman" in charge of "signaling" things upwards. Politics should become their main task.

Are the basic organizations ripe for this? I am convinced they are, of course if the requirements from them can be fulfilled. In reality, not every issue dealt with by the basic organizations is political. However, every issue can be politically significant and thus require political treatment. If the responsibility of the basic organizations and the requirements from them—including their own requirements from themselves—increase, the organizations will meet them. In addition, this lesson should be continuously studied at all levels—by the party and the entire nation—because it will never be entirely perfect nor complete. On the basis of the party debates, enormous potential is also inherent in the basic organizations.

In order to support our optimism, I would only like to recall two well-known events. The first one is the party conference. Many of us feared that the three topics and the debate on them—replacing the membership cards, the guiding principles, and reforming the political system —would wear down the strength of the party members. Behold—the party members became active and refused to accept many points of the document on the third topic even as a basis for debate. Even if the party members did not instruct the conference delegates to convey things verbatim, their determination and strength made the delegates accurately convey their will. Restraint characterized the convening of the party conference; however, the conference turned into a spontaneous action and a demonstration of the robust power of the people and the conference matured enough to accomplish its own tasks.

The second event is the demonstration on 27 June. Neither the party, nor the government—that is, the leadership—had requested or desired this demonstration and they treated it with reservations. Moreover, they rejected it as a means of voicing opinions because they were aware of the risks involved. However, the crowd of demonstrators amounting to many tens of thousands of people—their accurate number is immaterial—had a definite character and so sneaky political opportunists were not given the opportunity to speak. The crowd did not frighten them or trample them, it did more than that—it elevated them to its own level. This is how a movingly festive and quiet demonstration permeated by a sense of holiness has become a frighteningly loud shout.

In both cases we can say that the people have surpassed every expectation and they automatically remind us of the poetic phrase: a majestic nation. The party, the National Assembly, "the man on the street," and the entire people have repeatedly performed excellently and this is not an accidental phenomenon. This achievement comprises all our earlier efforts and those of our predecessors, and our own present decency and knowledge; and all this together has been and is bearing fruit. Why should we not be optimistic?

[Borbely, Eotvos] A man who in the future will have to do his job in a manner that will be completely different from the way he is doing it now will inevitably have to go through an ordeal. This is also true for the party officials and the party apparatus. How do you evaluate this process of change which is full of conflicts?

[Grosz] The change is indeed difficult, but there is no other way. Nobody has the right to deny that every official and every member of the apparatus will have the capacity for this. However, we should humanely but consistently get rid of whoever will still be unable to accomplish this change. But this is the normal thing to do, is it not?

Some people will stay, some will not. However, it will be the tasks and requirements, and not I or my leading colleagues, that will carry out this selection. Because the order of values which will develop in a healthily functioning organization is such that satisfaction with weak or mediocre performances will become impossible. This order of values will regard a balanced and good performance as natural, reward outstanding performances, and eliminate poor performances.

However, so many unfavorable things have recently been said about the apparatuses that we should also say something about their value. To the best of my knowledge, the people also currently working in the apparatuses—including the Central Committee—are communists, most of whom wanted the change and still do; they are not unqualified, old conservative, backward-pulling forces. From another angle, if an apparatus knows its tasks, it is not certain that it will function well. However, in the opposite case, when the apparatus does not know what its tasks are, it will certainly not function well!

[Borbely, Eotvos] Let me ask you about several delicate, current, but constantly avoided issues. What does conservatism mean today? Who is a conservative, who are the conservatives? Is there in the party a left and right wing in the classical sense of the word? Is there a danger of deviating to the left or to the right?

[Grosz] I use the term conservative unwillingly because I am afraid of incorrectly labelling people. Moreover, it might sound surprising, but occasionally I can also attach a positive meaning to this concept: A man that adheres to old and well-tested principles is formally a conservative, but he is not worthless.

At the same time, if this adherence to what one is accustomed to is a cover for the absence of independent thinking or is a demonstration of defending one's own position, I cannot accept it. Undoubtedly, there is conservatism in the MSZMP in this aspect, too. However, this does not simply originate from a definite number of "conservative" party members; it is the result of the positions we all take on concrete issues. I think that a conservative element can be more or less discernible in all our deeds and opinions.

What I have said so far is basically also an answer to the question on the existence of a classical right and left wing in the MSZMP. In my opinion, these do not exist in the party.

[Borbely, Eotvos] Allow me, comrade general secretary, to interrupt you here: Your conclusion will, no doubt, shock our readers....

[Grosz] I cannot answer this part of your question any differently. In my view, today there is no rightwing or leftwing in the party in the traditional sense. Today, we do not have a situation in which someone or some people represent a constant position in this respect. I do not see a trend in either direction. Much more characteristic of the present situation is that one has a specific position on certain issues, and a different position on other issues. What I see today is that the party members are very determined to achieve something else, something better. I will now use an extreme formulation and say that the party members are sectarian on some issues, and revisionist on other issues, because the people now understand the problems and they feel that changes should be made, but they do not yet know how to make these changes. This is a temporary situation which, in my view, will not last long; probably only until the party congress. Therefore, there is a lot of confusion here now. This is a very rare moment in the life of our party. During such comprehensive changes, everyone is seeking for solutions with the clear intent to improve things, and, concerning their intellectual content, these solutions are confusing because people do not yet have clear-cut answers.

[Borbely, Eotvos] How long has this situation been going on?

[Grosz] In my opinion, this started as early as before the preparation for the 13th MSZMP Congress, when we were almost insolvent. In 1982 or 1983, we felt that something was wrong and we needed a change. We agreed that what we had was wrong, but we did not agree on how to change the situation. There is no rightwing and leftwing now because there is nothing to be attacked from the right or the left. One can criticize a measure, the market, or the reason why we let private entrepreneurs live, but one cannot criticize the political line because its character is just now emerging. The moment the contours of this political line become more discernible, a position will emerge both from the right and from the left. I am convinced of this. This will develop with elementary force on both sides in the second half of the period following the 14th MSZMP Congress, around 1992 or 1993. One position will claim that "you have gone too far on the road leading to revisionism," and the other will claim that "you are still here, you are only lapping things up, but you are not advancing along this road."

[Borbely, Eotvos] The role of personalities is often being mentioned in connection with multifacted politics and the attractive representation of a policy. On the other hand, we are witnessing a differentiation of opinions and methods of approach within the party, too. These are extremely positive developments. However, if these two do not interact properly, this can lead to the serious danger of new factions. Do you not fear this?

[Grosz] Colorful and interesting figures have always been active in the Hungarian party movement, figures who had a clearly perceptible human and political character. It is another question, and this is a problem connected with the party's openness, that the party public opinion and the population at large were only vaguely aware of this. There have always been polemics and opinions have always confronted each other at various body meetings, but all these were confined to inner circles. Therefore, today, when we make it the norm for political leaders to regularly appear in public, a perception has emerged as if opinions that differ from those of the mainstream have suddenly increased.

[Borbely, Eotvos] However, it is, of course, a good thing if every party member can have a particular position in the debate on a given issue, and a different position together with others on other issues. Problems appear only when we begin to see the same people on a particular platform on every issue, when their zeal to prove right rather than the discovery of truth becomes the important thing.

[Grosz] I do not consider the emergence of factions to be a danger connected with the increase in the role of personalities. If there is such a danger, and it can occur at any time, it is precisely the multitude of individual personalities that is a guarantee against this danger.

There is an increase in the role of individuality, personality, and sense of community, that is, of all the subjective factors, and these factors are strengthening and mutually reinforcing each other. Contrary to all appearances, individualism is not the trend of development, but subjectivism is beginning to play its real role in an increasing number of areas. There have always been various opinions and methods of approach, too, so these are not new. However, these opinions have now become perceptible and are capable of creating positive forces. Sometimes these opinions involve indiscipline and finger pointing—and this is quite natural given the circumstances—but things are happening essentially the way they should: An increasing number of individuals and communities are showing their individual character and superficially it seems as if they are getting this personal image now. Why would this process be dangerous? In my opinion, it is not intensive enough. Some Central Committee members and National Assembly deputies are beginning to become aware of their responsibilities and opportunities, but subjectivism is still slowly becoming a firm community sentiment and today, a final opinion only vaguely emerges, but does not become organized or become an entity as a whole at a proper level, or it does so only very rarely. Why should it be different in the party organizations where, partly on the basis of traditions and partly because of reality and asserting their own responsibility, hundreds of thousands of party members together with hundreds of thousands of non-party members developed their opportunity to directly intervene in events? We have wanted this for a long time. The party conference and its decisions are its logical result. One can hardly overestimate its importance. It is possible that people who have different opinions will

find each other and will want to organize themselves, but the party has the power to keep this from going in the wrong direction and to use this as a positive force. I do not think that there was any of this organizing at the party conference.

Our complex reality and the myriad of tasks awaiting solutions are our greatest "opponents," but are by no means our enemies. Reality and these tasks should be the focus of our attention. We are not out looking for enemies with suspicious expressions on our faces either within or outside the party; we are doing our job, and if we encounter an obstruction—including the active opposition of some people—we will overcome it. We will not devote an iota of energy more to this than is absolutely necessary. This is why I reject the personal remark accusing me of dramatizing the situation in my presentation and thus having a negative effect on the conference delegates.

But I have a great assistant who can help me eliminate these doubts: Lenin. Let me recall his critical remarks of 1903, after the Second Congress: "No politician has ever completed his career without failures; and if we talk seriously about influencing the masses and winning their 'goodwill,' we should attempt to prevent politicians from hiding these failures..., and ensure that they are brought to the courthouse of wide publicity.... This and only this is the way to enable the entire body of party functionaries (not only a random circle or a small group) to get to know their leaders and evaluate them properly. Only wide-scale publicity is able to guide every rigid, one-sided, and capricious deviation back to the right road."

[Borbely, Eotvos] How does the new but in many respects unclarified concept of pluralism within the party adjust to all this?

[Grosz] We often use concepts on our everyday political work which we have not yet completely clarified scientifically. However, using them is justified because they are an accurate indication of direction for action. Socialist pluralism has recently been one of these categories in Hungary. Although such pluralism is mentioned in the position adopted by the party conference as one of the items concerning the functioning of the political system, it is also valid within the party.

Without attempting to develop a precise definition, I would like to say that in this respect I am thinking mainly of evaluating the trends and directions within the party. From this point of view, pluralism demonstrates the topicality of developing democracy within the party, including both the demanding nature of theoretical work and the functioning of institutions which emerge within the party and which demonstrate the multifaceted nature of interests. The key question is: How far can individual party members and groups of party members go in creating independent opinions? When does factionalism appear? I think that a party movement can only gain strength if its unity is based on the wealth inherent in multiplicity. This will also guarantee that minority opinions, which usually create a stir when they first surface, do not get lost. To do this, representatives of the majority opinion will be required to demonstrate tolerance, which should be consciously developed, and a very high-level style of debate. In order for minority opinions to be preserved, those who are in the minority on a certain issue must represent their convictions patiently and in a civilized manner. I would like to stress in an unambiguous manner that pluralism within the party can expand both in principle and in practice as long as it does not endanger the ability of the party to function and its unity. From another angle, I see the limit to pluralism in the fact that it aims at contributing to constructive action and not to hiding oblique intentions. All this means that it will be necessary to elevate patience which is necessary for genuine debate almost to the rank of a fundamental moral norm, and presumes the existence of publicity, honesty, and benevolent intentions. There is also another aspect. Party members can and are even obliged to participate in various intellectual organizations which are not opposed to socialism, because in this way they can join various intellectual trends. Party members should, by means of their activity, contribute to implementing the party position in these organizations. This requires the party aktivs to demonstrate independent, courageous, and responsible political activity. They will—and this is the most important sentence—be responsible to their own party organizations for their actions.

[Borbely, Eotvos] What are our ideological limitations, as you once called them, which obstruct progress? What would we like to do, if based only on the negative experiences of the recent past, in order to maintain the ideological processes?

[Grosz] Our biggest limitation is that our ideology is mainly based on our endeavors and on traditional conceptual elements, rather than on a theoretical basis. For a long time, theory has been only a point of reference and "confirmation," and a source to quote from. Theory in itself cannot be applied directly in practice, but if we succeed in finding ways to use fundamental theoretical theses in the life of society, similar to what is done in the natural, technological, medical, and agricultural sciences, we will acquire the use of a unique capacity. This is the method of application. Ideology, which is the theoretical guideline to our everyday activities and which, by relying on theoretical bases should, as much as is possible and is warranted, also contain our endeavors and our inherited conceptual elements and so on [passage as published]. However, theory should inevitably be the decisive component of ideology.

Our second limitation is that we are trying at all costs to find the answers to the emerging questions, instead of analyzing the legitimacy that is, the heart of the questions, because we are flooded with artificial questions. One should know how to ask questions. The most important thing we should learn from the classical writers is how to ask good questions because, although some of their concrete answers might have been obsolete a long time ago, the way they asked the questions and looked for and found the particular answer is not only an example but also a model.

As for the third element, the third ideological limitation, I think that we are under a lot of illusions that are not based on theory at all, but on "faith in a nicer and better world," and on a non-dialectic denial, the rejection and denial of "the damned past", a denial without an analysis. Since we are not facing up to all these, we create new illusions based on insecure faith. The overall condemnation of the fifties is a case in point.

One can experience the same thing in judging Marxism as a value, partly because not every element is valid today (and they were not meant to be recipes either), and partly because we did not deal with some of these elements according to their real content but began to regard our arbitrary interpretations as being the theoretical truth.

Developing this from the viewpoint of tasks, we need an ideological activity based on a demanding theoretical activity and on a methodical analysis of reality. We need to search much more for positive answers rather than prohibitions and obstacles.

In this respect, however, there are two aspects to the ideological work: a theoretical and a practical one. Or to put it more simply:

It has an understanding and an applying process. Both refer to the entire party. The essence of the process of understanding is to collect and consider the experiences and to politically generalize and theoretically process these experiences. We consider it a major task of the coming period to carry out an ideological activity within the party and to evaluate, preserve, and enrich the ideological and cultural values in the entire society.

I read an interview with Japanese Professor Kido Sigeru published in NEPSZABADSAG a few weeks ago. We can trace most of the aforementioned limitations to our situation, which he described very accurately. The following was published on 13 June: "You must simultaneously make society more attractive; and as a result, the population will be able to enjoy even greater independence and take very strict measures aimed at restoring your economy. These are contradictory tasks. The dilemma of how to do this is not a Hungarian one, or even only an Eastern European one. The need to ensure freedom and democracy and the need to increase efficiency, improve quality, and become competitive can be coordinated only with great difficulty. If you succeed, this will be an extremely important lesson for everyone."

[Borbely, Eotvos] The new Central Committee held its second meeting this week. This meeting determined the direction of the country for the coming years, primarily its economic development, but also its political prospects. What is your opinion about the debate and the positions that emerged?

[Grosz] First of all, I would like to make two general observations: Today, there is no essential economic issue in Hungary that does not have a political aspect, too. The effects of economic decisions on society have increased in our current economic situation. Therefore, the Central Committee bears a particularly large responsibility to decide on concepts referring to our economic plan for 1989. The other general observation I would like to make is that the economic plan for 1989 is considerably different from our previous annual plans, and not only because today we must prepare the 1989 plan with an eye on the plan for 1990, too, but also because this plan for 1989 is perhaps the most important element in the government program adopted in 1987. It is also more than this program because it deals not only with the issue of economic stabilization, but also contains the signs of development. In other words, this plan is not different, but more than the previous ones. It is not a new plan, but the old one with the addition of certain changes in the elements it stresses. In September 1987, we were still formulating with great emphasis the need to reduce or halt our indebtedness; today, we are emphasizing restructuring, which is the road leading to this goal. Although this intention was also included in our program of September 1987, this year is the first clear one which can be based on the concepts of 1987. Recognition of the fact that it is impossible to halt the increase of our debts without carrying out a restructuring is a positive element of this year.

The recent Central Committee meeting has confirmed this concept. Debates were held only on the pace of all these changes. The overwhelming majority of speakers supported a more firm, radical, and determined solution. In fact, the Central Committee advances on the same path as the last parliament session from an intellectual viewpoint. One can see, therefore, that a broad public opinion concurs. Both the parliament debate and the Central Committee debate encourage the leadership—the party and the government leadership—to accelerate the development. The social aspects of this encouragement were not formulated to the same extent in the parliament session as in the Central Committee. Here, the debate was richer because it took a more thorough consideration of the social consequences. As for the issue of the law on assembly and association, the fact that this was not accompanied by a large-scale debate should not be taken as a judgment. On the one hand, this is a very widely-discussed issue, and on the other hand, it expresses a very old social demand. We should have done this 20 years ago.

All in all, I can say that we have had a responsible and substantial debate, and a promising one for the future.

U.S. Observers of Exercise To Arrive 25 July

LD2407221288 Warsaw PAP in English 2147 GMT 24 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 24—On July 23, the Government of the United States approached the Polish Government with a wish to inspect an exercise carried out in northwestern Poland.

In keeping with the decisions contained in the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, the Polish Government consented to this. U.S. inspectors are expected to arrive on July 25.

Soviet Warships Conclude Szczecin Visit

LD2407221988 Warsaw PAP in English 2149 GMT 24 Jul 88

[Text] Szczecin, July 24—A visit of friendship paid to Szczecin by a group of warships of the Soviet Baltic Fleet wound up today. Together with vessels of the Polish Navy, the Soviet warships had been moored since July 19 at the Waly Chrobrego representative jetty.

Commander of the Soviet Baltic Fleet Admiral Vitaliy Ivanov and Commander of the Polish Navy Rear-Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk as well as ship officers and crews of both friendly fleets took part in ceremonies and events marking Poland's National Day in Szczecin and western Pomerania.

Numerous meetings were held with workers of Szczecin's largest factories and with Polish Army soldiers. Szczecin residents visited the warships in great numbers. While their ships were moored in Szczecin, members of commands of both fleets paid also visits to Warsaw and Krakow.

Hosts of western Pomerania acquainted their guests with the history of Szczecin, as well as of nearby towns of Stargard and Swinoujscie.

Soviet sailors visited also Polish sites of national remembrance: Chojna with its cemetery of Soviet soldiers killed in combat in 1945, Siekierki with its cemetery of Polish soldiers who were killed while crossing the Odra River, and Cedynia, where the historic battle was fought by armies of Poland's Mieszko I and Germany's Margrave Hodon in 972.

All ceremonies, events and meetings were marked by cordiality, friendship, and mutual understanding of transformations taking place in both countries.

While being bidden goodbye by hosts of the Szczecin voivodship, Admiral Vitaliy Ivanov thanked them for their cordiality and hospitality and said he was enchanted with the beauty of Szczecin and western Pomerania, and with hospitality of Poles who had managed to achieve that much in 43 years since those territories were liberated and incorporated into their motherland.

The farewell ceremony of the Soviet squadron of warships was held with full military honours and attracted thousands of people to Szczecin's wharfs.

Army Delegation Visits Site of Katyn Massacre

AU2207111888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jul 88 p 8

[PAP Smolensk report: "A Patriotic-Religious Ceremony in Katyn"]

[Text] PAP Smolensk—Continuing its visit to the Soviet Union, a delegation of Polish Army chaplains arrived in Smolensk, where they laid wreaths at the memorial wall to the heroes of Smolensk region. They also visited the city and its sights, including the beautiful Uspenskiy Cathedral.

In Katyn, 20 km from Smolensk, the chaplains took part in a patriotic-religious ceremony. A Soviet Army guard of honor was formed in front of the four collective graves of the Polish officers shot there in 1941. Accompanied by the Soviet Army guard of honor and the banner of the army unit involved, the chaplains held a service. Laying the wreaths, they paid homage to those who died there 47 years ago.

The Polish chaplains have been received by the municipal authorities of every city they have visited. In Smolensk, they were received by the city fathers, including Yevgeniy Sergeyev, deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Smolensk city Soviet.

The chaplains also visited the Smolensk Officers' Club, where they met with students of the Higher Military School of Rocket Troops and Artillery.

Rakowski Views Gorbachev Impact, Reforms

PM2207112688 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 20 Jul 88 p 17

[Interview with PZPR Politburo member Mieczyslaw Rakowski by Andrea Tarquini in Warsaw—date not given]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—"Yerevan, Sumgait, Alma-Ata...there has already been bloodshed for restructuring in the USSR. The same could happen in Eastern Europe in the near future. The socialist camp is experiencing the effect of forces which would have been unthinkable 5 years ago: the growing importance of the national issue which is making the central and East European states more different, economic problems, the urgent need for reforms, distrustful people, and the old guard's inevitable struggle against innovation. Yes, I am afraid that there may be years of conflict, strong feelings, and struggles."

It was a gloomy morning in Warsaw when I talked to Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Jaruzelski's main adviser. The place where Rakowski receives his guests has changed but not the cool manner of the politician who tells the most unpopular and bitter truths. [passage omitted]

[Tarquini] Dr Rakowski, is the Gorbachev effect producing a crisis in the Eastern bloc countries?

[Rakowski] No, but changes are already taking place. In my view, his visit to Poland was significant and indicative insofar as he demonstrated a desire to overcome the old anti-Soviet feelings in our culture and to forcefully assert the sovereignty of each of these countries. No Soviet leader before him had spoken here in such a courageous way about the history of conflict and hatred between Poland and Russia and then between Poland and the Soviet Union. Do you think that is insignificant?

[Tarquini] No, but the opposition, especially Solidarity, feels disppointed by Gorbachev and criticizes him for failing to refer either to them or to the Katyn massacre....

[Rakowski] Oh, who knows when we Poles—all of us, the oppositionists, we Communists, and others—will shake off our provincialism and our political myths. Who knows when we will abandon our aspiration to make Poland the center of the world, who knows when our oppositionists will learn to be realistic like Mlynar, the Czechoslovak. But what else should Gorbachev have said? Should he have made sensational statements which would have unleashed strong feelings? Should he have exposed himself to accusations from his enemies of interference in Polish affairs? The people who are criticizing him fail to remember what is now being said in the Soviet Union about the pact between Stalin and Hitler or about Stalin himself. These are things which were unthinkable 2 years ago. Are we willing to give him time?

[Tarquini] But, surely a word about Katyn would have pleased people?

[Rakowski] Listen, with regard to Katyn, I think the same as the majority of Poles. I think that it was a crime by Stalin. However, I would like to point out, first, that when he was in Poland, Gorbachev said many other things about Soviet crimes against this country. Second, a joint commission of historians is working on the Katyn question. If Gorbachev spoke about Katyn before the historians, he would be acting in the old arbitrary manner and would be violating his promises about a new legality.

[Tarquini] Let us return to relations between Gorbachev's USSR and its allies. Is Moscow willing and able to export restructuring to Eastern Europe? And what do the local leaderships think of it?

[Rakowski] In my view, what Gorbachev wants is primarily to establish a consistent implementation of the principle of sovereignty and self-determination for each socialist country. This ought to make all we Poles, Czechoslovaks, and East Germans stop and think, irrespective of whether we are party members, oppositionists, or ordinary citizens.

[Tarquini] Can you see the end of the Brezhnev doctrine?

[Rakowski] Yes. But do we realize what this means? Take care: First, sovereignty and self-determination will exist for all, for us and for our Hungarian friends Grosz and Pozsgay, for the Czechoslovak leaders and for the Romanians. Any national leader will be free to make decisions and none of us, the leaders of these countries, will be able to tell our own people: "We would very much like to give you more but Big Brother is opposed to it." No, the easy years are over: Big Brother is allowing us to do what we want, we alone will be responsible for our mistakes.

[Tarquini] Is this creating nervousness in government circles?

[Rakowski] I would not talk of nervousness. There is certainly no nervousness among us, nobody in our party opposes the reform. I am thinking of two other things. First, there has been talk in this country of reform and attempts to implement reform since 1980. This has been to no avail. The economic situation is still bad, an improvement in this situation will take a long time but the people are eager for a better life and therefore tend to show distrust.

Second, if we fully accept the theory of the differences between the individual countries and want them to be further differentiated, differences of opinion on restructuring are also inevitable. In short, the characteristics of the Gorbachev model, its recognition of our autonomy and the differences between us, means that there is no longer a model for socialism.

[Tarquini] So, is Shultz right when he says that the term Eastern Europe is no longer appropriate because it describes an area which is no longer homogeneous?

[Rakowski] Yes, in his way. We just have to think of the extent to which the national identity of each different socialist country is reemerging and being consolidated. We just have to think of how old central European traditions and values are being revived in society. These are not factors which make a group of countries more homogeneous. In these new conditions, we must take account of the general interest in addition to national interests.

[Tarquini] Do you mean that a public debate like the one which took place in Warsaw between Gorbachev and Polish intellectuals would not be possible in Prague or Berlin?

[Rakowski] It is certainly not easy to imagine it happening in Prague or Berlin, but it is possible to imagine it happening in London or Amsterdam.... But, I do not want to concentrate on my country. Let us return to the original point: I think that in this situation any socialist regime will have to prepare to face a period of strong feelings and conflicts, or dialectics and struggles for various interests between those who want the reforms and those who do not. That is why I mentioned Armenia before. It is sad and tragic that blood has already been shed for restructuring, but in our country too the old

guard's resistance to innovation will become a normal part of life, a natural and large-scale phenomenon to which we will have to grow accustomed.

[Tarquini] But surely the failure of your economic reforms and the economic crisis make unrest more likely?

[Rakowski] What else can we do? You see, the main enemies of the reform of socialism are unconscious enemies, not dogmatists in the apparatus. What I mean is that millions of civil servants have been in their jobs all their lives, have grown up for 40 years under a bureaucratic system, and are therefore not aware that they are acting as a hindrance and curb to reform. Thus, the economy is still failing to function and the people are impatient. But the people are also children of this socialism, as we all are, and it will be difficult for them to abandon the principles of welfarism which form the system's dogma. In these circumstances, economic recovery and a return to the market and its laws will require decades of slow change and difficult sacrifices. The citizens are in a hurry to achieve a better life immediately, because you only live once. But history shows that you can only carry out revolutions or radical violent change in a few months, not far- reaching but peaceful reforms.

[Tarquini] Gorbachev is aiming at institutional reforms. Would institutional reform in Poland help you to reopen dialogue with society? In the past few weeks you have had informal contacts with Solidarity's moderates. Will there be seats in parliament for them one day?

[Rakowski] Who knows? Possibly. We and they are still marked by the twofold trauma of 1980 and 1981—Solidarity's challenge and then martial law. But time heals everything and everybody. There has been talk of a future Christian democratic party. I am not in favor of that idea. However, I do not rule out the possibility that in the future men like our current opponents will sit in parliament if they are prepared to be loyal to the system. These are the ideas being put forward by Pozsgay in Hungary. We may achieve this, or it may be our sons and theirs who sit together in a different parliament.

[Tarquini] Is a European Marshall Plan vital to enable you to overcome the crisis?

[Rakowski] I do not believe this hypothesis. I do not believe it because I do not know whether Western Europe, which has its mind on 1992, and the United States, which will soon have a new President, are fully aware of the situation in the socialist world. The danger is that our outlook and theirs will continue to be based on contrasting dogmas parallel to Stalinism and that they will view our problems with indifference.

[Tarquini] From the personal viewpoint, what impressed you most in Gorbachev?

[Rakowski] First, I am finally seeing a Soviet leader who is not on a pedestal but who is a man of flesh and blood. Second, but not finally, he struck me as a man motivated by strong feelings—especially when talking to us Poles, a deep desire to repair the damage which Stalinism did to our country, to his country, and to the world.

Warsaw Pact Session, Proposals Evaluated

AU2307130688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jul 88 p 5

[Commentary by Janusz Moszczenski: "A Europe of Confidence and Good-Neighborliness"]

[Text] The states represented at the session are guided by the idea of jointly building a united Europe of peace and cooperation, "a common European home," in which the prevailing atmosphere is one of good-neighborliness and confidence. Although this sentence only refers to our continent, it is applicable to the whole world. It is contained in point 11 of the communique issued by the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Party to the Warsaw Pact, which has just ended in our capital. It merits the highest possible degree of attention, because it faithfully conveys the political goodwill that is reflected in the latest initiatives and proposals put forward by the political and defensive alliance of the socialist states.

This goodwill is also confirmed by two further important documents that were adopted at the session of the Political Consultative Committee in the form of declarations. They set out the Warsaw Pact's position regarding the negotiations on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe and our alliance's views concerning the effects of the arms race on the natural environment and other aspects of ecological security.

The first document should help to speed up progress at the Vienna CSCE meeting and bring about its successful conclusion at the foreign minister level by the end of the fall this year. It should also facilitate reaching a final agreement on mandate talks on conventional disarmament in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. This would make it possible to open the second stage of the conference of the 35 states on confidence-building measures, security, and disarmament in Europe. Negotiations between the 23 states belonging to NATO and the Warsaw Pact would take place within this framework but would be held separately.

The Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee confirmed the uniformity of views among all participants regarding the inviolability of borders; and respect for existing territorial and political realities, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and other fundamental norms of international law, and it deemed them of fundamental importance for the preservation of lasting peace and security on our continent.

It is noteworthy that the Warsaw Pact Declaration on Reducing Armed Forces and Conventional Weapons in Europe meets halfway the series of postulates advanced by Western partners in disarmament dialogue. It does not

express a desire to obtain unilateral advantages, gives due regard to the interests of all the parties concerned, and takes full account of the principle of equal security.

We can be pleased to be able to say that substance of the declaration is fully convergent with the solutions contained in the Jaruzelski Plan.

The second document, the declaration on the ecological effects of the arms race, is truly without precedent. This is the first time that the highest organ of a military and political alliance has displayed concern about this global danger and challenge that the world community faces. It points to the military aspects of the threat to the environment, such as, for example, the continuation of work on nuclear weapons, the storing of poisonous gases, and military maneuvers, and, at the same time, it puts forward proposals concerning the formulation and implementation of a concrete, substantive concept of international ecological security and the holding of a pan-European conference of ministers responsible for environmental protection with a view to adopting programs of joint action.

Poland has made a tangible contribution in this field in the form of providing inspiration. As far back as the 40th UN Session, held several years ago, Wojciech Jaruzelski proposed introducing the free flow of technology for environmental protection purposes throughout the world. In the Sejm address that he delivered a few days ago, our leader stressed the urgent need for common undertakings in this area, because, in short, ecological problems do not recognize the borders of states or differences in institutions.

The Warsaw Pact session of the Political Consultative Committee set out priority disarmament tasks and deemed the key contemporary issue to be the prevention of war and the halting of the arms race. The priorities are as follows: a 50-percent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons belonging to the USSR and the United States, a ban on nuclear weapons testing, the elimination of chemical weapons, and reductions in armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, combined with a significant lowering of military expenditure.

The Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee has coincided with a tangible improvement in the international atmosphere and in a situation in which confrontational tendencies, especially between East and West, are abating. Signs of increased realism are evident in the policies of Western states. However, NATO plans of so-called compensation for the two classes of nuclear weapons in Europe that are being eliminated on the basis of the INF Treaty by way of developing and modernizing other types of both nuclear and conventional weapons with high degrees of accuracy and a high yield can only be viewed as disturbing. Nevertheless, this cannot obscure the fact that a genuine disarmament process has been commenced. The determined efforts of the USSR, Poland, and the other socialist states are bearing fruit in the form of the first concrete disarmament steps.

The Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee session—the first since the Soviet-American summit meetings in Washington and Moscow, the historic 19th PZPR Conference, and Mikhail Gorbachev's important visit to Poland—was held at a historic moment in the development of the internal situation in the countries belonging to socialist community and in the international situation. There are many signs that allow one to hope that the initiatives and proposals advanced at the Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee will fall on fertile ground and will contribute to the irreversibility of the healthy process of change, restructuring, renewal, and the democratization of relations within our countries, within our alliance, and in the international arena.

Nations, Media Role in Terrorism 'Struggle'

AU2107125488 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 15-16 Jul 88 p 7

[Tomasz R. Aleksandrowicz article: "Is Killing Terrorists Allowed?"]

[Excerpts] On 6 March 1988 members of the Special Air Service, which is the British antiterrorist squad, killed three IRA activists in Gibraltar. This SAS action created the impression that roles had been changed—that the terrorists had become victims of a political killing and that the SAS personnel had become terrorists. The SAS officers did not take any risks and did not try to make an arrest. They simply started shooting.

After all, they only did what they had been trained to do. The SAS squads are usually sent into action when there is irrefutable evidence that terrorist action is in the offing. Their usual task is to organize a trap. [passage omitted]

However, the Gibraltar operation means more than just the death of three men. It poses the now inevitable question of how far the state may go in its defense against terrorism and whether it can disregard all legal and moral norms in combating terrorism. What resources may the state use against terrorists? [passage omitted]

"We must not become a Hamlet of nations and keep on wondering whether we may react and how." This is Secretary of State George Shultz's credo with regard to the struggle against terrorism. "Terrorists deserve no pity. Terrorists must be given no shelter. We must strangle their work." [passage omitted]

Ronald Reagan's administration has decided to treat the struggle against terrorism as war, albeit as a low-profile war. In April 1984 President Reagan signed a special directive which allows the U.S. Armed Forces to launch

preventive attacks against "states that sponsor terrorism." This is just a step away from "high-profile war." The White House's strongest argument in favor of such tactics is the deterrent effect of the use of antiterrorist forces. [passage omitted]

The state that is held at bay by terrorists resorts to various stratagems, some of which may seem irrational at first sight. As Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher says, "we must find ways of depriving terrorists and hijackers of the oxygen of publicity they breathe."

To a great extent, Mrs Thatcher is right. What terrorists primarily want to do is to influence government decisions, but their potential to do this is too negligible. To become credible, to be listened to, and to exert any influence at all they must be experts in the art of amplifying effective action in the same way as actors do in the theater. That is why the terrorists' first task is to attract and hold public attention in such a way as not only to shake the public, but also to make sure that the public will pay attention to them in the future as well. [passage omitted]

That is why, as a rule, terrorist actions are most spectacular, to attract attention. A bus full of children is a much more dramatic target than a bus full of soldiers.

Naturally, today the mass media are the best way of acquiring publicity and of keeping the public in suspense. Some experts even assert that the attention of many of those who plan terrorist actions is focused precisely on the mass media, whose role has become so great that some leaders, like Mrs Thatcher, make loud appeals such as "Let us not allow terrorists to manipulate the mass media!"

Of course, journalists are not willing to agree, and continue to resolutely defend their right to provide reliable and comprehensive information. However, some of them, including such stalwarts of journalism as Katherine Graham, who owns THE WASHINGTON POST, are aware of the dangers and appeal to their colleagues to be prudent and cautious in publishing their reports and pictures, even if this lowers their interest value.

What is the line that the state should not cross in its struggle against terrorism? It is hard to answer this question in a single sentence, but probably one thing is certain. The state must not allow terrorists to impose their methods of action on itself, because this always spells the state's defeat, regardless of the course of specific incidents.

Truck Driver Delayed at Hungarian Border

LD2107153088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Our Budapest correspondent Tadeusz Samitowski has got some bad news for our listeners.

[Samitowski] I have some unpleasant news again from a border crossing regarding the activities of the Hungarian border services. This time the case does not apply to Polish tourists, who for a long time have been used to the special care and attention that is extended to them. This time the victim of persecution happened to be a Polish driver on a business journey, Stanislaw (?Witlich) who was returning from Yugoslavia without cargo. At the border crossing in Roszke near Szeged, the Hungarians paid him so much attention that he was kept there from 1700 to 2200. Maybe they think that Polish drivers are paid for standing still and not for driving?

That is not all. The truck, registration number (?SED 198), was investigated and checked by the Hungarians so carefully that it now looks as if it hit a mine. It cannot be used. The driver, who could not cope with torn wiring and a smashed dashboard, had to leave the keys at the border and walk to Szeged to look for a place to spend the night. The truck, as I have said, is standing immobilized at the border crossing and the Head of State Transport Enterprise in Hungary Cwikla, together with the whole consultate, will again be busy for a few days. I hope that our customs officials do not follow this example and will continue to assist Hungarian drivers, as becomes civilized people.

Bloc Neighbors To Seek Pollution Curbs

PM2906161588 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 18-19 Jun 88 p 1

[Interview with Waclaw Kulczynski, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources, by Sylwester Bajor; date and place not given]

[Text] [Bajor] You are the chairman of the Polish delegation which will take part in the talks with government representatives of the GDR and Czechoslovakia scheduled to begin on Monday [June 20] at Ksiaz near Walbrzych. It will be the second round of talks this year, after the March meeting between deputy premiers, in the tripartite conference devoted to the subject of preservation of the natural environment in the Sudety region.

[Kulczynski] The Ksiaz conference will be a continuation of the work initiated last March. As you know, its purpose is to halt the progress of the ecological disaster taking place in the Western Sudety region, and its principal concern is to reduce the discharge of gaseous substances, particularly sulfur dioxide, into the atmosphere.

We are especially interested in such cooperation because, owing to regular wind direction patterns, a substantial proportion of the harmful gases discharged by Czechoslovak and East German power plants falls on our territory. It is estimated that Poland receives around 300,000 tonnes of sulfur dioxide per annum from the GDR and 270,000 tonnes from Czechoslovakia. Our neighbors receive significantly lower quantities of these pollutants from our power plants.

[Bajor] The Polish side submitted a draft proposal for an agreement on trilateral cooperation.

[Kulczynski] Last March we undertook to prepare a draft proposal for an agreement. In May we presented the proposal to our partners.

[Bajor] Perhaps you can tell us a bit more about the proposed solutions?

[Kulczynski] Apart from the general terms and principles of the proposed cooperation, the document contains many suggestions for concrete operations and decisions concerning, among other things, timetables for reducing the discharge of harmful substances into the atmosphere, the setting up of a joint and standardized monitoring and control system, countermeasures to deal with exceptional danger areas, the reclamation of devastated areas, and, finally, procedures for settling disputes and awarding damages.

[Bajor] When can we expect to see the first results of this trilateral cooperation?

[Kulczynski] We will be able to talk about tangibles after the agreement has been signed. We are suggesting that by the year 1993 our partners should reduce by 30 percent the discharge of sulfur dioxide into the atmosphere within a 150-km radius around the point where the three borders meet. This would be consistent with the decisions of the so-called Helsinki Protocol, signed by both Czechoslovakia and the GDR. An old proverb advises, "Physician, heal thyself." Consequently, we are beginning with ourselves and we are well aware of the considerable number of existing obstacles.

To begin with, we intend to reduce the discharge of sulphur dioxide by the proposed 30 percent in an area which will embrace six voivodships. Two months ago I had a meeting with their voivodas. We are faced with many difficulties, and the problem of waste gases produced by power plants is just one of these. Incidentally, while we are talking about power plants, it is worth noting that the design of both the existing plants and those that are being constructed today fails consistently to provide for the installation of desulfurization equipment. Regardless of this, we have to handle the problem and solve it in a satisfactory manner.

Transcript of Urban's 19 Jul News Conference

AU2207165388 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Jul 88 pp 1, 5, 6

[Transcript of press conference by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 19 July]

[Text] Urban: As one can expect, today's Politburo session will assess the course and results of CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland, and will publish this assessment.

Let me say briefly and frankly that it was difficult to imagine a better outcome of the visit. It has raised Polish-Soviet relations to the highest possible level, filling them with warmth, maximum mutual understanding, a spirit of change and renewal, and a respect for one's partner and his sovereignty and separate identity.

This visit is consolidating the process of changes in Poland, expanding the ideological basis for our reforms, and encouraging accord and discussion.

It is improving Poland's position among the socialist countries and in the world. Together with the results of the Warsaw Pact summit, it has reaffirmed the stability and irreversible nature of the postwar frontiers and political order in Europe, with a simultaneous openness to the development of peaceful all-European ties.

The atmosphere of the visit was created by Mikhail Gorbachev's openness and sincerity, the applause he encouraged among Poles with various convictions, and the particular ties of friendship and unanimity which join the Soviet and Polish leaders and which were clearly enhanced during this visit.

Now I will proceed to a much lower level of affairs.

The editor of NOWA WIES [NEW COUNTRY] has sent me an article from his weekly entitled "Beer for the Breweries, Coal for the Miners," written by Leszek Spalinski. The article criticizes the existence of various industrial perquisites and privileges, and I was asked to say something about this during a press conference.

The government considers the system of perquisites to be an anachronism. However, I suggest that the author discuss his article in a factory where such perquisites are given. Then he will understand that it is not easy for the government to discontinue these perquisites, a government that listens closely to the views of working people.

A part of the article discusses what the author considers to be perquisites received by members of the government. He lists the following: low rent, official cars, free telephones, maids, payment for public attendances, various gratuities, and easy access to attractive market goods.

It is true that ministers have official cars and enjoy free newspapers, but basically that is all they get that is free. Members of the government pay for housing and all other services just like everyone else. They do not get a single grosz for maids, and usually do not have any. Here in Poland, not even the head of state is reimbursed, and not even partly, for the maid who helps around the house. Members of the government attend all public functions for nothing. Neither is there any system of easy access to attractive goods that are hard to come by. However, and this I have to admit, the matter is not quite that simple. Officially, there are no privileges in this sphere, but in fact, and let me be honest about this, it is the same with government members as with all

people. Everyone with the right connections takes advantage of them in order to settle affairs and obtain commodities. One can assume that some ministers have better connections than the average citizen, but not every member of the government has them. I buy things easily, just like everyone whose face is known from television. Isn't that right, Mr Zakrzewski?

The members of the government are not separated from the rest of society, and general shortcomings in interpersonal relations and human habits also apply to them. I am saying this in order to be honest about this issue.

The author of the article quite simply ought to check information about the standard of living of ministers, and not repeat rumors. A responsible editorial staff, conscious of society's sensitivity toward other people's privileges, to say nothing of the privileges of the authorities, should carefully check the accuracy of this information. And yet in the meantime, NOWA WIES is stirring emotions on the basis of information that is partly untrue.

Marek Kassa, Polish Radio: When are you going to visit Radio Free Europe?

Urban: I have already said that I proposed a visit to Radio Free Europe, and already have a formal invitation from Mr G. Pell, president of the Munich radio station. I proposed that my talks with the Polish section take place in the first half of September. I presented my own plan of the meeting. However, I accept Mr Pell's suggestion that first I would arrive in Munich, and then I would discuss plans for a visit to Warsaw by the Polish staff of Radio Free Europe, which would take place later. I also agree with Mr Pell that the exchange of views during the meeting at Radio Free Europe ought to be freely published. I will mail this letter quickly, and will expect a reply from Mr Pell on various concrete issues.

I have had many letters in connection with my idea of going to Munich and the idea of inviting Radio Free Europe staff for talks in Warsaw. I do not hide the fact that some of them are full of indignation. People have written that we describe the Munich radio station as anti-Polish and subversive, and now an official representative of the Polish Government wants to visit it. That means we recognize Radio Free Europe as a partner. Someone even wrote that if I shake hands with my hosts, he will not shake hands with me. Thus, these letters employ valid political and moral arguments against my visit.

So let me explain once again. Radio Free Europe is not a country to which one can accord or refuse diplomatic status. Although we regard it as a special kind of American Government agency, nevertheless it is an agency of a government with which Poland maintains relations.

The existence and activity of Radio Free Europe is a fact. It is not wise to ignore something that is real, even if we do not like it.

However, what is most important is that I am not going to Radio Free Europe in order to fraternize with it, but, on the contrary, to argue with it. I am not doing Radio Free Europe a favor but, on the contrary, my offer is causing it trouble. This is illustrated by articles in the emigre London DZIENNIK POLSKI [POLISH DAILY], where we read in the 26 June issue that the invitation by Radio Free Europe's American management for Urban to come to Munich is a blow and an undeserved injury to that station's Polish section. This invitation is surprising, it is said. After this comes a long treatise about how horrible and evil Urban is. The dismay of the Polish team is described, and it is suggested that Mr Pell should meet Urban in some beer cellar, and not expect the Polish section to agree to such a scandalous meeting. The Americans have a colonial mentality, writes the emigre Polish daily in London. The Polish section is unanimously against a meeting with Urban, and the station's sympathizers reckon that official American circles should redress the injury done to the staff and listeners of Radio Free Europe.

Perhaps some Polish paper will want to reprint the entire short commentary by DZIENNIK POLSKI? I will willingly let it have the text.

John Daniszewski, AP: Can we find out anything more about the workers' unrest in Silesia right now, in other words, how many miners did not turn up for work over the last weekend? Did this only apply to one shift or to all three, and have any concessions been made to these miners?

Urban: There is no unrest in Silesia. There was a wage dispute in the "Boleslaw Smialy" coal mine in Laziski Gorne. On Saturday some of the workers did not turn up, having put forth a series of very intricate demands concerning the wage system, including how to calculate the interest on back pay and how to calculate bonuses, severance pay, extra increments earned by extracting certain types of coal, and so on.

The conflict has been settled and the second shift has resumed work in full, in other words, this was a temporary disruption. There were negotiations with the coal mine management with the participation of the trade unions and management of the miners' guild. The demands of the work force were discussed and decisions were adopted which were considered fair and should have been implemented by now. Other issues are very complex; in fact the entire wage system in mining is complex.

Joszef Nyiro, NEPSZABADSAG: Could you give us more details about the meeting last Saturday, attended by Mr Jaruzelski and Mr Grosz?

Urban: The Polish side appreciates the idea for such a meeting from Hungarian leader Grosz. This was, as it were, a working visit by Grosz to Poland, following his Moscow visit and just before his Washington visit. The exchange of views and experiences revealed a uniformity of searches and a consensus of opinion, and excellent

mutual understanding. Poland and Hungary have very similar problems, hence it was considered useful to increase contacts. These contacts will become increasingly numerous, and occur at all levels.

Jerzy Gonczarski, EXPRESS WIECZORNY: Does the government have any final views on the results of the first half of the year which might be discussed with the trade unions? When will such a discussion take place?

Urban: Today's Government Presidium communique deals with this. The meeting will take place soon. It will be a meeting with the trade unions and Union of Agricultural Circles and Cooperatives.

In today's communique, the government provides a preliminary assessment of the results of the first year. It has also adopted a preliminary policy for the second half of the year. In addition, it discussed a firm policy to counteract inflation next year.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: What is the Polish Government's reaction to Iran's adoption of the UN resolution on a cease-fire in the Persian Gulf?

Urban: We know about this decision from agency reports. One should be pleased that Iran has accepted UN Security Council Resolution 598 which, as we have already said, is the only basis for a fair, honorable, and lasting settlement to the conflict between Iraq and Iran.

It is difficult to provide an exhaustive commentary right now, but we share the UN secretary general's view whereby this decision by Iran is paving the way to a cease-fire.

Aby Suart, AB: Considering the rate of inflation in Poland, will Poland follow in Hungary's footsteps and devalue the zloty?

Urban: This cannot be ruled out, because we have adopted the rule that the rate of exchange of the zloty should be flexibly adapted to its purchasing power and its real relationship to other currencies.

K. Pilawski, SZTANDAR MLODYCH: The statement signed by Gorbachev and Jaruzelski calls for, among other things, the early conclusion of an agreement on cooperation between Polish and Soviet youth. Will this be a government agreement like the one we concluded with the GDR, and has the preliminary extent of youth exchanges between Poland and the Soviet Union been set?

Urban: There are two topics involved here. Both sides have spoken out in favor of drafting and concluding a comprehensive program for developing cooperation between Polish and Soviet young people until the year 2000.

However, because such a program imposes a range of duties for state offices and institutions in both countries, it should have legal backing in the form of an agreement between both countries. Work on such an agreement has started. It is too soon to say what it will be like.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: In yesterday's TRYBUNA LUDU, Jozef Czyrek said: "I prefer not to talk of an anticrisis pact, but of a pro-reformist coalition." What is the difference between these two terms?

Urban: The term anticrisis pact implies that there is an economic crisis in Poland. We believe we have emerged from the economic crisis. And although the economic situation is unfavorable and we have many difficulties, it is difficult to use the same term to describe very different states of the economy. There was certainly a crisis at the end of 1981 or beginning of 1982, and there is certainly no crisis today. Thus, the concept of anticrisis pact is connected with combating a phenomenon that should not be considered a crisis today, and it should be thought of as a pact designed only to counteract some drastic phenomena.

However, the term pro-reformist coalition better conveys the essence of what is intended, namely that people with various convictions and various attitudes toward the authorities' policy should rally together around a matter which may unite them and is the most important matter for the country—support for the reform and talks about its future shape. Jozef Czyrek quite simply prefers the term which better conveys the essence of the matter, though the political purport of both terms is similar.

By the way, Bronislaw Geremek used the term anticrisis pact in his interview for KONFRONTACJA. At that tine, and also in TRYBUBA LUDU, J. Czyrek also used the term anticrisis pact in order to make it clear that he accepted this proposal and was not making a different one. Present usage of the term is meant to clarify the sense of that which is being discussed at present.

Stefan Konwacki, Radio Polonia: The Sejm has created the possibility of alternative military service for those who do not wish to serve in the army because of their convictions. What about those who are in prison for refusing to perform military service?

Urban: The authorities that are constitutionally empowered to do so are seeking legal solutions which, on the basis of the new situation, will permit the release of those who agree to undergo alternative service in accordance with the new law which creates this possibility. I have been told one may expect suitable decisions shortly.

Yousef Mah's, WAFA Palestinian agency: Do you think the Iraqi Government decision is the start of a solution to the entire Middle East conflict?

Urban: I can only hope it is. The government I represent is not a party to the conflict, and I must restrict myself to expressing such a hope. My forecasts in this regard will be no more authoritative than yours, sir.

Dorota Kobialko, ZWIAZKOWIEC [TRADE UNIONIST]: I would like to return to an earlier question about government-trade union talks. At its latest session, the OPZZ Executive Committee examined the causes and results of the latest protest action in April and May, and said that the main reason for the work forces' discontent was an incohesive price and wage policy which led to an impoverishment of society, especially employees in the state economy and pensioners. According to the OPZZ, social life is continuing to decline and the prospects of our country emerging from this economic impasse are becoming more distant. My question is, does the government share this view, and if it does not, if it has a different stance, then could we hear it?

Urban: Indeed, the 7 July resolution by the Executive Committee expresses concern over the country's economic situation and the people's financial situation. In many points, it coincides with the views of the Seventh Central Committee Plenum, though I believe that the 7 July OPZZ Executive Committee resolution is slightly exaggerated.

The state authorities are taking into account and will take into account the Executive Committee's postulates voiced on 7 July. The government has assessed the economic processes in the country in the first half of the year, including the growth of prices, wages, and costs of living. A full assessment of the first half of the year is to be made by the trade unions, farmers' organizations, consumer organizations, and government together. The government has criticized some of the effects of the price rises, in other words an increase in wages and a consequent rise in inflation. It has undertaken action intended to increase supplies to the market.

Next year we will have a clearly anti-inflationary policy. The government will act jointly with the trade unions already during the drafting of the plan, before consultations are held on the plan and before it is submitted to the Sejm. This will be an unprecedented procedure.

There is one comment I would like to make about the contents of the OPZZ Executive Committee resolution. The interests of various worker communities are very different from each other, and are becoming more and more so. So one cannot only talk about the communities that are losing out. One also has to talk about those that are gaining and whose real wages are increasing.

And one more matter. The Executive Committee states that it considers it wrong to resolve conflicts between workers and the administration by means of the peacekeeping forces. I wish to remind you of my statement whereby the summoning of the peacekeeping forces to the Lenin Steelworks was a particular necessity, not a pattern for further action. Besides, the militia did not resolve that conflict, and in fact does not resolve any conflicts anywhere. The militia sometimes has to act in the name of the law and public order, but never as a party to a dispute between workers.

Deborah Seward, UPI: I would like to go back to what Mr Czyrek said about the coalition for the sake of the reform. Is it possible that in this way Mr Czyrek has in mind a coalition which could be joined by those forces and those segments of the Polish people which do not share the views of the Communist Party and the trade unions?

Urban: He certainly means that. His is not a completely new offer, because it was already put forward by the Seventh Central Committee Plenum. J. Czyrek just elaborated on this offer in order, so to speak, to egg on those who would join that coalition as our potential partners.

Janusz Zalewski, PAP for foreign countries: The Polish press has commented on the article published by THE NEW YORK TIMES, which alleged that the United States has recently given $5 million to the Polish opposition to combat the policy followed by the Polish authorities. Why is the Polish Government silent on this? Is it frightened of America?

Urban: THE NEW YORK TIMES has revealed that the U.S. intelligence service has secretly spent $5 million to finance the former Solidarity leadership and its activities. The funds were sent to Solidarity as supposed trade union assistance through various organizations, including Western trade unions. That U.S. daily has also reported that at the moment $2 million provided by the U.S. state budget are being openly transferred to Solidarity people. This is nothing new at all. I have discussed this on many occasions and have expressed the Polish Government's position on these U.S. practices.

What is new is that a leading U.S. daily, citing credible sources, tells us that the CIA provides funds for the Polish underground, although the Americans and their Polish customers have vehemently denied this.

We regard these open and secret activities by the U.S. authorities as a significant feature of the U.S. policy vis-a-vis Poland. This is in glaring conflict with the U.S. Government's professed declaration of noninterference in our internal affairs. The Americans say that they want to improve relations with the Polish state, that our domestic measures are our own affair, and that they are sympathetic to our reforms. However, what they do at the same time is to assign funds for activities meant to incite unrest and so on.

The fact that post-Solidarity groups continue to be financed by the U.S. intelligence service and other U.S. Government agencies places a large segment of the so-called opposition in Poland in an equivocal situation. This opposition asserts that it is an independent body, but the fact is that those who take payments from a

foreign power are not entitled to call themselves an independent and genuine force. The fact that the Solidarity people are in the pay of the U.S. intelligence service, parliament, or the government makes it less likely that the Polish authorities will recognize them as partners in our internal dialogue. One cannot remain on the payroll of a foreign country and, at the same time, maintain that one wants to be a partner in dialogue, as a representative of a segment of the Polish people.

The Western politicians continue to ask us: Why do you not want to have dialogue with most members and advisers of the former Solidarity leadership? But the fact is that by giving money to their political friends, the American politicians answer that question themselves.

In the 18th century the Polish people were contemptuous of those Poles who were in foreign pay and who created the so-called confederation of Targowica [1792]. But in those days, being in foreign pay was more in tune with contemporary customs than is the case today.

When we speak of the scope of national accord and of the motives for stipulating certain limits for it in the interest of Poland, it is always worth remembering what THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote, by prior agreement, about the U.S. intelligence service and about its millions of dollars for the activities of a segment of the so-called opposition in Poland.

To put it quite clearly: We prefer to talk with U.S. politicians than with their unofficial agency in Poland. In general, everyone prefers to talk with those who pay rather than with those who are paid.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: In an interview in today's TRYBUNA LUDU J. Czyrek says that he is in favor of a coalition that is for the reform and that is based on mutual trust. But my impression is that the present government coalition of the three parties is not so sure that mutual trust exists. The applies mainly to the most recent elections to the people's councils. I understand that these elections were based on some interparty accord, which was violated by the PZPR. I think that that accord stipulated that the ratio of PZPR chairmen of the people's councils should be 55 percent, but that it went up to 66 percent after elections. In view of that, how can you expect people to show trust when trust has been undermined? (RZECZPOSPOLITA note: The Government Spokesman's Bureau thinks that A. Tarnowski's question was based on wrong information in that only 46.9 percent of new chairmen of the voivodship people's councils are PZPR members. The share of PZPR members in the presidiums of the voivodship councils amounts to 44 percent.)

Urban: I know nothing of such accords and violations. I do not deny your allegations, but I honestly admit that I do not know what you know. However, some coalition accords may have only a directive character, especially when they are followed by secret ballots involving many candidates. It is quite obvious that there must be a discrepancy between accords on candidates and posts and between the actual results of secret and democratic elections.

Satala, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: On 14 July LE FIGARO reported that 1,500 workers downed tools in Stalowa Wola. A spokesman of STALOWA WOLA has said that there was only an attempt to call a strike.

Urban: The Western press—I do not recall the LE FIGARO report—was wrong in reporting that a strike took place in Stalowa Wola. There was only an attempt to call a strike, and this attempt was made elsewhere—at the residence of a priest in a village. There was no strike in Stalowa Wola. By the way, it was not a priest's residence. It was a catechism school. The conflict, which was the reason for abortive attempts to call a strike, was solved and the persons concerned received jobs. This solution jibed with the management's previous proposals.

Please get used to the fact that in Poland we have many labor conflicts; this is a normal feature in our country. They should not be regarded as something dramatic and extraordinary.

Jiri Vasko, CTK: Much is being said in Poland about comprehensive democratization. On the other hand, one can see many features of elementary disorder, inconsistency, and even of what my chief calls a do-as-you-please attitude. For example, for 11 days I did not receive any mail. May not such a situation endanger the Polish lofty plans to promote democratization, better life, reforms, and so on? Will inconsistency not endanger whatever the Polish Government and party want to achieve? What does the government intend to do to tighten general discipline?

Urban: I share your views and concern. Democracy is not an automatic panacea for all ills, including the inertia of some postmen and officials. No doubt the bad performance of various institutions will not help us to promote democracy, even though the independence of enterprises, institutions, local authorities, and so on continues to increase. The bad features in these places may even consolidate. This consolidation will continue until the mechanisms of democratic grassroots control improve their efficiency and help the central authorities in ensuring that everything functions better.

Our attitude is that democracy in Poland is making its progress under rather unfavorable conditions. But this does not mean that we need less democracy. On the contrary, we think that we must accelerate democracy. We have tried to reform the performance of various public institutions with the help of decrees from above, but the results have been poor. We think that the grassroots mechanisms of democracy and of control will be more effective. That is why the government continues to promote democratization in order to induce the grassroots mechanisms to function better and to put pressure on whoever and whatever works badly. In

addition, the government tries to tighten discipline by from-above methods in order to reduce disorder. These measures include the "Order" campaign, the certification of jobs, which was not such a success, and the comprehensive control actions in voivodships. I understand that you are bitter, having not received any mail for 11 days. I could also list one or two things I do not like myself.

Christopher Bobinski, THE FINANCIAL TIMES: How many persons are in prison for refusing to do military service? I have in mind not only the people from the Freedom-and-Peace Movement, but also the Jehovah's Witnesses. Will the time served in prison be counted toward substitute military service? It would be injustice to ask people who have served 2 years in prison to also do 3 years of substitute military service.

Urban: We expect that the time in prison will be counted as substitute military service, but no decisions have been made as yet. I think that 11 Freedom-and-Peace people and several hundreds of Jehovah's Witnesses are in prison at present.

Bobinski: Can you say something about the registration of the Dziekania Club?

Urban: I have no knowledge of the progress of this registration. We are ready to register Dziekania. I know nothing about the course of this matter.

Bobinski: If you say that strikes in Poland are something normal and nothing to be excited about, is it possible that the Main Office of Statistics will start supplying data on "days lost through strikes?" It did supply such data in 1981, but they have disappeared since. Will they come back?

Urban: I do not know. I will transmit your suggestion to the Main Office of Statistics and will ask it to reply to you. The only thing is that I do not really know what you mean by a strike. Everywhere in the world strikes are divided into legal and illegal or wildcat strikes. It is not every illegal break in work that amounts to a strike. Only a break in work with a view to promoting a purpose and to proclaim a strike is illegal. In our Polish life, circumstances vary from place to place. People put down tools because of some brief dispute or because they want to discuss a problem among themselves or with management. And when they engage in such discussions, they do not work. In a word, the term strike covers many different circumstances, including the one which is marked by the fact that when the given plant is doing normal work, some group or other of workers gathers somewhere outside the plant, on some church premises, and keeps on appealing to their buddies to go on strike.

Kay Withers, THE BALTIMORE SUN: When you replied to Mr J. Daniszewski's question on breaks in work in Silesia, you did not tell us how many people put down their tools and whether the wages of those who put down their tools were raised as a sign that their grievances have been settled.

Urban: The first shift included 900 miners, and 800 of them did not go down the mine to work, but this standstill lasted only 2 hours, because those 800 miners went down the mine at 0800. The first shift begins at 0600. The second shift of miners went to work as usual.

I have more information on that in my office. Still, I remember that various issues were in dispute. Some are being negotiated, some resulted from various acts of neglect, and some require the attention of the entire branch. Talks to this end continue to be held between the miners' trade union and the coal authority. I have no newspaper with me and I do not think I should inform you here about current press reports. Please consult today's press. Its information is concise and precise. My memory has failed me and I am unable to recall it.

Marzena Guz, Radio Polonia: Yesterday PAP reported that the chaplains of the Polish Armed Forces paid homage to the Katyn victims. It said that the crime had been committed in 1941, which means that the Polish-Soviet Commission of Historians regards it as impossible that this crime was committed in 1940.

Urban: No. This issue is still open, and nothing is final. I can add a general commentary in this connection.

In his Sejm speech, M. Gorbachev referred to Soviet work to purge Soviet history of blank spots and falsehoods. The Polish press continues to reprint many Soviet materials about Stalinist crimes, which means that the USSR is willing to reveal those crimes and the painful facts.

The issue of the Katyn crime is still open and under investigation. Efforts are being made to find among contradictory versions and facts evidence that is able to back up the whole truth. The establishment of the whole truth must be based on the unequivocal and irrefutable facts. M. Gorbachev said in the Sejm: "The truth and justice may be late in arriving, but they must arrive in the end." May I add that during the visit the sides discussed various forms in which homage should be paid to those murdered Polish officers.

Deborah Seward, UPI: I would like to refer to that question about Katyn, because what is now taking place in the USSR has little to do with the specific case of Katyn. The question was about the visit of the Polish chaplains. PAP also raised that case. It is being openly said here that a solution has been reached, but last week the cochairmen of the Polish-Soviet Commission of Historians said that the case is still open. Why does PAP prejudge it?

Urban: No PAP report exists. A journalistic notice supplied the date of one of the versions of events, which are being investigated by the commission. This has no legal validity or any significance for the case as such.

I am surprised that two ladies here attach such great significance to a small journalistic report. Yours is really an unusual journalistic practice.

Youse Mah'd, the WAFA Palestinian Press Agency: What is the value of the stolen car containing radioactive materials and what dangers can be created when these materials are taken out of their container? Polish Television reported that the car had been found without those materials. What will the government do? PAP reported that those materials were brought from abroad. Can you tell us which country they came from?

Urban: All I know is that the militia is looking for the thieves and continues to tell the people about the dangers involved. Militia efforts have produced no results as yet, so I am unable to give you the details you want to know. I am not interested in the value of those items, because what matters is the dangers caused by the isotopes in question. The material value is of secondary importance in this situation.

Krzysztof Lewandowski, KURIER POLSKI: Did the Warsaw Pact session discuss the Soviet proposal to set up a disarmament center?

Urban: Yes, it discussed the Soviet proposal to set up a disarmament center, which would help to reduce the danger of war and to prevent sudden aggression in Europe. The participants at the session welcomed that proposal. It will be discussed at the future meetings of the Warsaw Pact states. In the joint Polish-Soviet declaration Poland expressed its full support for the Soviet initiative and offered to provide facilities for the center in question.

At his press conference here, CPSU Central Committee Secretary Medvedev said that the USSR supports the Polish readiness to host that center.

Kay Withers, THE BALTIMORE SUN: Last week Professor Smirnov, cochairman of the Polish-Soviet Commission of Historians, said that the commission had no access to the old NKVD records and just partial access to the central archives of the USSR. Is Poland making any efforts to induce the Soviet side to make all relevant records available? Without these records it will be impossible to clarify all those crimes.

Urban: I have no knowledge of the details of Professor Smirnov's statement, but I know that the Polish delegates to the Polish-Soviet talks on the occasion of M. Gorbachev's visit were assured that the Soviet side will search everywhere for the materials and facts connected with the Katyn crimes.

In a word, we see that as the Soviet side's complete willingness to allow us to investigate all possible archives.

Christopher Bobinski, THE FINANCIAL TIMES: Since there is a possibility that other graves of Polish officers will be found, in view of the fact that only about 4,000 officers were buried at Katyn, it could be that we will get to know what happened to the rest of those officers. It is assumed that the Katyn crime involved 15,000 officers.

Urban: This is an observation and not a question of yours. My observation is that we want to know the whole truth, to know as much as possible.

Banned Socialist Party Rejects Government Offer

AU2507064288 Paris AFP in English
0011 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, July 25 (AFP)—The Warsaw branch of the banned Polish Socialist Party Sunday rejected a government offer to join an "anti-crisis pact" to deal with the country's political and economic problems.

The branch said in a statement that it would only join such a pact if the government undertook an "authentic democratisation" of political structures, reestablished "trade union pluralism" and allowed "freedom of association."

The decision came at a meeting "somewhere" in the capital, the statement said. It also called on other, smaller branches of the party throughout Poland to follow suit.

The Warsaw branch also elected Leszek Krzyszton, a worker in a bridge and road engineering firm, its president, the statement said. Two pre-World War II Socialist leaders, Aniela Szteinsbergowa and Jan Kielanowski, were made honorary presidents, it added. [passage omitted]

Council of Ministers Views 1989 Annual Plan

AU2207153788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19 Jul 88 p 2

[Excerpts] PAP—The Council of Ministers met on 18 July. [passage omitted]

It examined a draft of the 1989 Central Annual Plan. In accordance with last year's amendment to the law on economic planning and the program for implementing the second stage of the economic reform, the 1989 plan will deal with finance and commodities.

The principles of the plan define basic proportions in commodities and the paths of financial, budget, credits, prices, and wage policies. They call for an increase in the independence and self-financing of enterprises, the development of competition, and the counteraction of monopolist practices in production and trade. Among other things, they call for an end to the monopoly in procuring, processing, and selling food.

The prime objective of 1989 socioeconomic policy is to radically reduce price increases and curb inflation, these being the main obstacles to greater productivity. Work in

this direction will involve, among other things, eliminating production processes that are too material intensive, and eliminating the production of goods that are too labor intensive.

The plan foresees that industrial output will rise by 3.5 to 5 percent, and the produced national income by 3.6 to 4 percent.

The plan is designed to reduce the budget deficit, bring people's shopping budgets in line with market supplies, and balance the demand for investments with the possibilities of the building industry and availability of machinery and equipment for investment purposes. A further major reduction in central control over wholesale trade is envisaged.

The Council of Ministers called for an urgent finalization of the plan, especially those points in it dealing with prices and incomes policy and the standard of living. This task will be performed in cooperation with the trade unions, after which the 1989 Central Annual Plan will be submitted to social consultation and referred to the Sejm.

Next, the Council of Ministers viewed an action program to balance the market and curb inflation in the second half of the year. The basis for this program was provided by an assessment of prices and the domestic market in the first half of the year and an assessment of broad government activity designed to increase market supplies. Retail sales rose in the first half of the year by 4 percent, whereby food sales rose by 2 percent and industrial goods sales by 7 percent, and at the same time alcohol sales fell by 4 percent. There was also an increase in stocks of consumer goods, which is favorable for the market situation in view of the fact that low-level stocks at the end of last year led to panic buying.

However, these positive features are accompanied by the negative phenomenon of a faster rise in people's incomes than the rise in the manufacture of goods and in prices. This could lead to higher inflation. Therefore, the Council of Ministers deemed it necessary to counteract this situation by increasing supplies of goods and preventing an excessive flow of money. This will require firm adherence to the planned proportions in the credits plan and the planned ratios between budgetary income and expenditures. [passage omitted]

Economy's 'Dismal, Ever-Worsening Condition'

AU2207092288 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish 2 Jun 88 p 5

[Jozef Kaleta article: "The Gap"]

[Excerpts] The year of 1987 was the worst year in our economy, and this is proved by the following facts: the lowest increase in national income and production, the largest economic imbalance and inflation, the biggest increase in foreign debt, the largest budget deficit, the largest drop in the number of cows, hogs, and milk production, the largest drop in the farmers' incomes compared with the incomes of the urban population, and the largest drop in real wages in the socialized economy. [passage omitted]

My anxiety about the country in 1988 and the following years is also very great, especially on account of the dramatic situation of our economy, which continues to deteriorate all the time. [passage omitted] In 1987 we were unable to stop the progressive disinvestment of the assets in enterprises, the pollution of the natural environment, the devastation of social and technical infrastructure, the worsening housing situation, and so on, and so forth.

This dramatic situation of our economy has intensified the apathy and frustration of the overwhelming majority of our people and has no doubt increased their criticism of broadly conceived government. The results of public opinion polls are one indication of this.

We must no longer say that objective reasons are responsible for the dramatic and highly disturbing economic situation of the country. In 1987 the economic sanctions were finally lifted and our political and economic relations with the Western countries were greatly improved. The year of 1988 [as published] has been another good year for farming yields [urodzaj], and it is being officially asserted that the political opposition constitutes a margin that is of not the slightest consequence and that it is unable to exert a destructive influence on the economy.

Attempts to lay the responsibility for the economy's dramatic condition at the door of our people are unjustified. Our people have often demonstrated that they know how to work effectively if they know that there is a light at the end of the tunnel. For example, this was so in 1946-49, 1956-60, and 1971-75. [passage omitted] Today it is no longer rank-and-file workers that determine effective productivity anywhere in the world. This is now always determined by the systems of economic performance, especially by rational systems of motivation, as proved by the fact that illiterates in Southeast Asia are able to produce the excellent and most modern cars and computers.

The main reason for our economy's dismal and ever-worsening condition is the glaringly defective system of economic performance, a system in which it does not pay to increase production, to lower production costs, to improve quality, to promote conservation, and to tap production reserve. In this system, bureaucratic barriers continue to very effectively strangle the enterprising spirit and all economic initiatives.

The other crucial reason for that deterioration is the continuation of anachronistic, crisis-intensive, and inflation-intensive economic policy, which gives a preferential treatment to the fuel-energy complex, metallurgy, and heavy industries, while glaringly handicapping the industries that produce consumer and export goods. [passage omitted]

The second stage of the economic reform is being realized in a highly inconsistent manner. Some "reform" activities go precisely against the grain of the established principles of the second stage of the reform. [passage omitted]

Public opinion polls show that a tremendous majority of our people do not believe that the second stage of the economic reform can be successful. This is a very disturbing phenomenon in view of the fact that social support for the reform is one of the basic conditions for its success.

That some of our reformers have been defeated even during the first 6 months of "realizing" the second stage is also attested to by the fact that Vice Premier Sadowski is to be furnished with special powers so he is able to remove barriers to the reform and to consistently promote it. Although we still do not know what these powers will be, I think there is little chance that a vice premier will be able to defeat all adversaries of the reform, who are still hold many key positions in the bureaucratic political and administrative apparatus. Only the supreme political and state authorities are able to effectively eliminate the existing barriers to the reform, as is the case in the USSR and China.

Further radical changes in the performance of the state can also guarantee the success of the reform. This is because radical economic reforms can be carried out only if structural political reforms are carried out. The main reason for the failure of all economic reforms in Poland and other socialist countries was precisely the continuous maintenance of the political system that has deprived citizens of the opportunity to crucially influence the fate of the state and of the enterprises and gminas in which they live and work. The proposed economic reforms, which seek to increase the independence of enterprises and to reinstate objective economic laws and market mechanisms, are in obvious conflict with efforts to sort out the economy in line with the anachronistic ideological and political dogmas. That is why ridding the government of dogmatist forces, which are against economic and political reforms, is an important condition for the success of the second stage of the economic reform.

Although they like to don the mantle of the defenders of socialism, dogmatists are actually against socialism, because they do not believe in its ability to reform and in a possible competition between the socialized economy with the private economy, thus condemning socialism to a permanent crisis and inevitable downfall. We must realize that the present largely bureaucratic system of the functioning of the socialist state and the socialist economy is unable to compete with the capitalist system in the developed countries. It is unfortunate that the civilization and technology gap dividing Poland from highly developed countries continues to increase.

Unemployment, Justice, Presidium Reviewed

AU2507112588 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 23 Jul 88 p 2

[From the "press review"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] GAZETA LUBUSKA on 6 July carries an interview with Professor Dr Adam Schaff by Iwona Sepolinska. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Schaff] People no longer regard the lack of unemployment in some countries as proof that one system is superior to another system. There is concealed unemployment in our system, a fact which is being officially mentioned in the USSR. If changes were made today in the USSR to promote productivity to its present level in the West, which is developing with the speed of a storm, some 19 million workers would have to be deprived of their jobs. As you can see, this is not a problem of the system. This is a problem that goes beyond the system. [passage omitted]

The June issue of FIRMA carries an interview with Jerzy Zdunczyk, a judge of the Supreme Administration Court, by Anna Aleksandrowicz. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Aleksandrowicz] What about the pressure on judges in the case of sentences? What about the independence of justice?

[Zdunczyk] A judge is independent if he wants to be. Attempts at pressure from above and from below do happen. The pressure in the court to have the accused executed or lynched is the most difficult to defeat.

[Aleksandrowicz] What about the pressure from above?

[Zdunczyk] At one time we tried a particularly criminal gang operating in the leather industry. Gomulka wanted the members of that gang to be sentenced to death, but we refused to do this. [passage omitted]

The June issue of ZDANIE carries a statement by Professor Dr Marian Stepien, chief editor of Zdanie. Here is an excerpt from it:

The main contradiction which those in authority have to eliminate is that between the principle of the party's leading role and political pluralism, which, if it is really to respect our present various political aspirations without depriving them of identity, must be qualitatively different from the present practice of cooperation with the allied political parties. The role of these parties is also changing toward cooperation that smacks of coalition-like political activities. However, what should be done is to allow the official existence of other orientations on the principle that, on the one hand, they will not question the PZPR's leading role, although they may modify in an important way the understanding and implementation of this role, and, on the other hand, that they will not lose their identity. [passage omitted]

Iran Plan and Budget Head Confers, Signs Accord

LD2107173788 Tehran IRNA in English
1725 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, July 21, IRNA—Iran's Plan and Budget Minister Ma'sud Roghani Zanjani, who arrived here last evening, met Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei here Thursday, and discussed with him mutual ties, and ways of expanding eco-technical cooperation.

In the meeting, Andrei expressed happiness of the Romanian Government and people over the Islamic Republic's acceptance of U.N. Security Council Resolution 598.

Later today, Zanjani also met Romania's Minister of Machine's Building Industry Serbian Teodorescu and discussed with him expansion of bilateral relations.

Talks With Dascalescu

AU2207163788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1405 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 22/7/1988—Friday, 22 July, Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu received Ma'sud Roghani Zanjani, minister for plan and budget, co-chairman of the joint Romanian-Iranian Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation and on Trade the proceedings of which were held in Bucharest.

During the interview ways and means were analysed and set to further expand economic and technical scientific collaboration, boost cooperation in production and production specialization, increase and diversify commercial exchanges on mutually advantageous bases between Romania and Iran.

Attends Cooperation Commission

AU2207164088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1426 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 22/7/1988—The sixth session of the joint Romanian-Iranian Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation and on Trade concluded in Bucharest on Friday, 22 July.

At the end of the talks the co-chairmen of the commission—Radu Balan, chairman of the State Planning Committee of Romania, and Ma'sud Roghani Zanjani, minister for plan and budget of the Islamic Republic of Iran—signed the session's protocol which envisages measures and actions conducive to increasing goods exchanges on mutually advantageous terms, and developing cooperation between the two countries on an economic and technological plane.

The same day, the Iranian minister had an interview with Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs of Romania.

Signs Letter of Understanding

LD2207190488 Tehran IRNA in English
1823 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Tehran, July 22, IRNA— Iranian Plan and Budget Minister Ma'sud Roghani Zanjani conferred with Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu and Foreign Minister Ioan Totu in separate meetings in Bucharest today.

The Romanian premier in his meeting with Zanjani termed common viewpoints of the two countries in the field of construction as "important" and stressed on expansion of Tehran-Bucharest relations.

In reply Zanjani described outcome of talks with the Romanian officials as "promising". There are good grounds for further expansion of mutual cooperation, he added.

Meanwhile, Zanjani discussed common viewpoints in the foreign policies of Iran and Romania with Foreign Minister Totu on the same day. "Iran's acceptance of the Resolution 598 is an examination for those international forums and countries which proposed negotiations for the solution of the issue," he said.

He also condemned the U.S. attack on the Iranian airliner on 3 July in which all 290 passengers and crew were killed.

The Romanian foreign minister approving the Iranian move to accept the resolution expressed his country's suport for its implementation.

Totu termed the superpowers' conspiracy against world nations as "unacceptable" and called for all countries' contribution to important global issues.

Meanwhile, Iranian delegation signed a letter of understanding on expansion of economic, technical and industrial cooperation with the Romanian officials at the end of its three-day visit to Bucharest this afternoon.

Ceausescu Chairs, Addresses PEC Meeting 23 Jul

AU2307200688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1928 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/7/1988—Saturday, 23 July, a meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP was chaired by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu in Neptun resort.

The meeting was attended by members of the government, first secretaries of county party committees, other cadres holding responsible posts on a party and state line.

During the meeting, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP marked the anniversary of 23 years since the ninth party congress.

On the occasion Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister, Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Miu Dobrescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania (GTUCR), Ana Muresan, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the National Women's Council, Ioan Toma, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, addressed the audience.

The speakers cast light on the decisive importance of the Ninth RCP Congress which ushered in a new era in the party's activity of revolutionary transformations in all domains, imparting unparallelled dynamism to the process of building socialism in Romania. They paid homage to the president's personality, to his long and fruitful revolutionary activity put in the service of the Romanian people's loftiest ideals of progress and prosperity, of freedom, independence and peace.

High appreciation was shown for the contribution Romania, the Party General Secretary and country's President Nicolae Ceausescu made to the establishment of friendly and cooperative relations based on full equality and mutual advantage among all the states of the world, to a passage to disarmament, nuclear disarmament first and foremost, and the building of a better and more just world of progress, security and peace.

President Nicolae Ceausescu made a speech during the meeting.

Approaching the items on the agenda, the Executive Political Committee examined reports on the fulfilment of the plan for July and the measures for the fulfilment of the plan provisions for August and the second half of 1988 in industry and agriculture as well as on the situation of the unused machinery, equipment and installations and the proposals to capitalize them.

During the meeting the proposals were examined and approved regarding the development of localities in Giurgiu County into agroindustrial towns.

The Executive Political Committee decided that in the next four years 10,000 flats or so be built in Giurgiu Municipality, and until 1990 conditions be ensured for the development of communes in Giurgiu County into agroindustrial towns which are to become in a short lapse of time agroindustrial urban centres apt to provide ever better working and living conditions to all their residents.

The Executive Political Committee also decided that, as part of the general programme for locality development and modernization, the settlements be established till 15 August which are to be turned into agroindustrial towns in other counties.

Meeting Endorses Pact Documents

AU2407131888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2030 GMT 23 Jul 88

["Approval of the Documents of the Meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 23/7/1988—In its 23 July meeting, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP heard an account of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee held in the Polish capital city on 15 and 16 July 1988.

The Executive Political Committee was highly appreciative of the activity carried out by the party general secretary, President of the Republic Nicolae Ceausescu at the meeting of the chief delegates of the Warsaw Treaty states, of the way in which he presented Socialist Romania's position on the matters discussed. It was stressed that that accorded to the full with the resolutions of the Thirteenth Congress and National Conference of the party, with the Romanian people's foremost interests and aspirations after peace and progress, for worldwide collaboration.

The Executive Political Committee highlighted that the broad exchange of opinions on questions of greatest importance, the documents signed and adopted, just as the understandings reached gave fresh prospects to the consolidation of collaboration among the Warsaw Treaty states both in socialist construction, the successful implementation of each country's socioeconomic development and in the struggle for disarmament, security and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Starting from the assessment that the prevention of war, the halting of the arms race and a resolute passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in the first place, are fundamental problems of our days, the Executive Political Committee underscored the significance of the measures and proposals advanced by the Warsaw Treaty states regarding the need for intensified actions toward achieving appropriate accords, cutting offensive strategic arms, totally banning nuclear-weapon tests, giving up any actions for space militarization, completely eliminating all shorter-range nuclear weapons, decreasing armed forces and conventional weapons.

Approving the documents adopted by the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, the Executive Political Committee emphasized that, through its results, it evinced the determination of the participating states' parties and peoples to do their utmost for a firm passage to disarmament, nuclear disarmament

above all, the promotion of understanding and collaboration, the rallying of all forces in the fight for the building of a better and more just world, free of weapons and wars, a world of peace and peaceful cooperation among nations.

The Executive Political Committee reiterated, on this occasion too, Romania's will to take further action, in close unity with the other socialist countries, with all the peoples of the world, for the achievement of disarmament, for renunciation of the use and threat of forces, and a negotiated settlement of all interstate issues, for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new world economic order, for new-type relations among states based on the observance of the principles of each state's independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, the ensurance of a climate of detente, security and peace, of understanding and broad collaboration in Europe and the world over.

International Cooperation Planned

AU2407135588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2030 GMT 23 Jul 88

["Growing International Economic Cooperation Program"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 23/7/1988—The Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP considered in its 23 July meeting a programme of Romania's growing international economic cooperation over 1988-1990.

Measures and actions were established in order to step up economic collaboration and cooperation with all socialist countries, with the developing countries, with the developed capitalist states, with all the countries of the world. More particularly, collaboration and cooperation with the developing countries is to be promoted and expanded in efficient forms for the purpose of achieving economic objectives of common interest on mutually advantageous terms.

President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed during the meeting that the growth of Romanian industry, science and technology had put the conditions in place for an intensification of Romania's international economic cooperation actions and urged the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the Foreign Affairs Ministry, and all economic ministries to work jointly with the National Council for Science and Technology and the State Planning Committee for the continuing broadening of the country's cooperation ventures.

Ceausescu Addresses Political Executive Committee

AU2507113788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0934 GMT 25 Jul 88

["Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech at Meeting of CC of RCP Executive Political Committee (23 July 1988)"]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 25/7/1988—Dear comrades, I wish to keenly thank the Executive Political Committee, the government and the first secretaries attending the meeting, our Central Committee, the party, the mass and public organizations, the whole people for their telegrams, congratulatory words and wishes expressed in this framework with regard to the party's activity, to my activity in my capacity as party general secretary.

Indeed, the ninth party congress was an important moment, a turning point in socialist construction in our homeland. It unleashed the creative power and the revolutionary thinking of the Communists, of our people to remove everything that was obsolete—dogmatism, conservatorism, the tendency to bow to everything that was foreign—and asserted our party's and people's creative power to ensure the building of socialism in Romania in harmony with the people's aspirations and the realities in our homeland.

I do not intend to make an exposition on such questions now—this autumn we shall hold a plenary meeting of the Central Committee which, in the spirit of the April Theses, is to analyse the party activity as a whole. What I should like to emphasize now is the fact that, after the ninth congress, our party has consistently worked for the improvement of the entire activity, for the democratization of the party's activity, of our socialist society, by creating a broad framework of democratic bodies in all domains, as well as conditions for the people's participation in the management of all areas, of the home and foreign activity. We started from the thesis that we build socialism with the people and for the people, that only if the people takes an active part in the building of socialism can we ensure the unflinching implementation of our socioeconomic development programme.

Certainly, 23 years is not a very long time and is not a very short time either, because, at least as regards the Romanian people, they are years that put a radical end to backwardness and ensured our homeland's rise to a new development stage, its transformation into an industrial-agrarian country. In such a short lapse of time there are few countries which scored like achievements—and if we considered only this we could assert with justified pride that our party has proved its might and capacity to lead Romania's destinies to socialism and communism.

Were we to look at all our homeland's counties and localities, we can notice that we built scores upon scores of new industrial districts in all the homeland's zones. Practically speaking, the counties which had no industry

are today powerful industrial centres and, from this point of view, there is no one in which socialist industry, organized on the basis of the latest achievements in science and technology cannot be a strong force apt to provide ever better working and living conditions just as all the working people's participation in building socialism in our homeland.

We developed agriculture. Today we can, indeed, speak about cereal crops that top 30 million tonnes a year—it is likely that this year we obtain more than 30 million, thus exceeding last year's yield—and this starting from an output of 12 million tonnes or so in 1965. This is not a small crop, neither is it up to the possibilities of our socialist agriculture. We still have to take an important step toward attaining the goals of the new agrarian revolution. The party programme provides for an at least 35 million tonnes of cereals. In any case, under this five-year plan we should top 35 million tonnes. We can and we must do it.

We did vast socioeconomic construction works to modernize towns though, unfortunately, there still are counties—it is true, only a few ones—which could not keep abreast with all our homeland's counties and towns.

We developed powerful agroindustrial centres and we have a far-reaching programme to basically change in the next two five-year periods the life in the countryside and create conditions of work, tuition, culture and, generally, of life, much closer to the conditions of the ones living in towns, making some of the forecasts of the founders of scientific socialism come true since they saw society as a society of equality, of justice, in which all working people, all the citizens of a country may fully enjoy the highest achievements, both materially and intellectually, apt to provide for the powerful assertion of human personality, a genuine revolutionary humanism, in which the individual is the centrepiece. And for the individual we must do everything possible.

We remarkably developed science, education and culture. We all know what a tremendous creative work is done in the sphere of science, the fact that everything we have achieved is based upon the lofty gains of science and technology, in which our research, each one's research plays a very important role.

We ensured the continuous rise of the people's standard of living, materially and spiritually. The recent measures for the increase, since 1 August this year, of the payment of all categories of working people—starting with the ones with lower incomes whose minimal remuneration will grow from 1,500 to 2,000 lei—brings out in bold relief that there is a close unity between words and deeds, between political aims and the practical activity for our party and state. We do not make mere promises, on the contrary, we work so as through everything we undertake we ensure ever better living conditions, from all points of view, as this is the supreme goal of our policy, of socialist construction in Romania.

There are many things to say. Anybody can notice what the power of a people means, a people that liquidated inequality and oppression for good and became a master of its destiny—the true master of the country—and builds, under the leadership of our Communist Party, the golden future of which our poets spoke in the past. We are the ones who not only speak about such a future, but also achieve it, shape this wonderful golden future of welfare, happiness, freedom and independence of our homeland.

Perhaps it is well to refer also to more general aspects, to the fact that we made our people feel he is a free and independent people. We restored it the feeling of its own history of fight for liberty, for being a master of its own destinies—and maybe this is one of the great achievements that unleashed the creative powers and made our people pursue with all its might the Romanian Communist Party as a standard-bearer of the fight for existence, for the safeguarding of our nation's free being.

We ensured the translation into fact of true equality of rights of all working people, whatever their nationality. We can be proud, and we powerfully assert it, that we solved the national question, guaranteeing equal rights in all the socioeconomic and political areas to all the citizens of our homeland, given the fact that, irrespective of their ancestors—closer or farther—they are citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sons of the same people that, together, in full unity, work to build here, in Romania, a free independent life and secure the steady construction of socialism and communism in Romania—independent and free.

Twenty-three years of work have passed. At the Ninth Congress we undertook before the party and the people to do our utmost and serve the party and people, the cause of socialism. We can assert now that we creditably fulfilled this mission. We also had shortfalls, we made mistakes, but our party, our people went ahead. In these 23 years we spoke less about the numberless revolutionary transformations, about democratization and all the other renewals—and maybe there are some people who have the impression that Romania is what it used to be 30 years ago. No. Romania has radically changed, it is a completely new country—I could say—as regards revolutionary conception, democracy as well as the technical, material and scientific base, the people's unity round the Romanian Communist Party.

At the Ninth Congress we undertook to develop relations with the socialist countries—we consistently militated for it and have done as such. We can be proud today that we have always acted for the surmounting of any divergencies, for the socialist countries' unity and collaboration, and so we contributed to the cause of socialism and the unity of socialist countries.

We broadly developed relations with the communist and workers' parties, with socialist and social democratic

parties, with the national liberation movements, considering that their collaboration and unity are major factors in the policy of solving the serious problems of the international life.

We have consolidated collaboration with all the states of the world, regardless of social system. We granted our full support to many national liberation movements and continue to grant it. We have acted in full unity with the developing countries, with the nonaligned countries, with the small and medium-sized countries, expanding also relations with developed capitalist countries in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence. We have always set our ties on fully equal rights, respect for independence, sovereignty and nobody's interference in domestic affairs, and we must proudly say that we have contributed to the full assertion of interstate principles.

We have taken firm action for disarmament, for nuclear disarmament, for the elimination of nuclear weapons, for a new economic order, generally, for the resolution of complex problems in a new manner, in the interest of each nation. We started from the need that there must be a new thinking, a new practice, a new way of action in finding a solution to the complex international issues.

There are many things to be said about our international activity. Nevertheless, we can proudly state that in the 23 years we did our duty as a socialist country, as an active detachment of the forces declaring for a better and more just world, a world of justice, equality, welfare, independence and freedom of each nation.

We are not making a balance sheet—this is, so to say, a get-together occasioned by the meeting of the Executive Political Committee—but we should like to state that we shall take firm action, in harmony with the resolutions of the Thirteenth Congress and of the National Conference [of the RCP], and we shall spare no effort to help disarmament and peace throughout the world.

I wish to assure the Executive Political Committee, the comrades present here, our Central Committee, the party and our entire people that we shall do everything possible—considering collective activity and the need to work with a higher sense of collective and individual responsibility—for the implementation of the decisions regarding the economic and social progress of our homeland.

As far as I am concerned, I shall work, like so far, with full responsibility and firmness, in a revolutionary spirit so as to be up to the party's and people's confidence, taking the view that this is every Communist's loftiest duty to the people, to the cause of socialism and communism.

In conclusion, I should like to congratulate the Executive Political Committee and the government, the county party committees, each one of you for your activity, for your contribution to implementing the socioeconomic development programmes and the general policy of our party and state.

I thank the party and the people that, under all these circumstances, have proved full unity and acted in all firmness for the implementation of the policy of socialist development of our homeland.

I wish you all, the whole party and people further successes, to do your utmost and fulfil the socioeconomic development plans so that in 1990 we can see—and I am sure we shall do it—that our country has passed on to a higher development stage from an economic and social point of view, with all influences and everything deriving henceforth in all fields of activity.

This will raise our homeland to a new development stage, to new heights of progress and civilization.

Let us do everything in our power and fulfil all the development plans and programmes in these two and a half years.

I wish our whole party, our entire people ever greater successes, an ever better life, freedom and independence, welfare and happiness.

I wish you, the party and the people good health.

Economic Cooperation Talks With CSSR Conclude
LD2307101388 Prague CTK in English
0956 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest July 23 (CTK Correspondent)—The 19th session of the Czechoslovak-Romanian mixed Government Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation ended here today.

The session adopted measures aimed at the realization of conclusions approved at top level meetings as regards the further development of economic cooperation, cooperation and specialization in production. In drawing a draft joint program, the two sides will proceed mainly from the long-term program of developing economic, scientific and technological cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Romania until 2000.

The session also decided that both sides should speedily cope with unfulfilled tasks dating from 1987 and make every effort to meet the targets of the 1988 trade protocol.

Head of the Czechoslovak delegation, Minister of Metallurgy, Engineering and Electrical Engineering Ladislav Gerle has told CTK correspondent here that the Czechoslovak side is aware of the modern production basis of Romania and will try to use it in a better way with the aim to raise the exchange of industrial and consumer goods.

Protocol Signed

AU2307133488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1048 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/7/1988—The 19th Joint Romanian-Czechoslovak Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation ended in Bucharest on July 23.

It analysed the state of economic relations and of trade between the two countries as well as their prospects, and expressed the satisfaction for their growing course in line with the understandings and orientations agreed upon during the Romanian-Czechoslovak summit meetings and talks. Starting from the potential of the two economies, new ways and new actions were agreed upon that could lead to a further growth of cooperation in metallurgy, machine-building, electronics, electrical engineering, chemistry and other spheres of common interest, to a deeper production specialization and a growing bilateral cooperation in technology and science. Moreover, measures were agreed on the growth and diversification of Romanian-Czechoslovak commercial exchanges.

At the end of the work, the co-chairmen of the commission—Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister, and Ladislaw Gerle, minister of metallurgy, mechanical engineering and the electrotechnical industry of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic—signed the session's protocol.

CSSR's Gerle Meets Dascalescu

AU2307133888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1116 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/7/1988—Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received, on Saturday, Ladislaw Gerle, minister of metallurgy, mechanical engineering and the electrotechnical industry of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, chairman for his country of the joint Romanian-Czechoslovak Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation, hosted by Bucharest.

The interview highlighted the good Romanian-Czechoslovak relations that have been growing, as was agreed at the summit meetings.

Furthermore, it covered new ways and modalities likely to help the expansion of Romanian-Czechoslovak economic and technical-scientific cooperation in areas of great significance for the advancement of the two countries, the diversification of trade to mutual benefit, in the interests of the cause of socialism and peace.

Leaders Congratulate Poland on National Day

AU2507104588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Jul 88 p 5

[Message sent by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers, on Poland's national day]

[Text] To Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and president of the States Council of the Polish People's Republic, and Comrade Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic

Dear comrades: On the 44th anniversary of Poland's rebirth we want to extend warmest congratulations and comradely greetings to you, the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, and to the friendly Polish people, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and on behalf of all Romanian people and ourselves.

In the 44 years that have passed since the 22 July Manifesto and Poland's embarking on the road of socialist construction, the working people in Poland have achieved important successes, under PZPR leadership, in the homeland's socioeconomic development, in ensuring the working people's material and cultural well-being, and in your country's active participation in the international activity. As close friends, we want to express our great joy at your successes and we want to warmly congratulate you for them.

At the same time, we want to express particular satisfaction in connection with expanding and intensifying the traditional friendship and many-sided cooperation between the RCP and the PZPR, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Polish People's Republic, being firmly convinced that by working together in the spirit and on the basis of what was agreed upon during our meetings, we will ensure a constantly upward trend for the fruitful cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples in the interest of socialism, peace, disarmament, and international cooperation.

On this great holiday, we want to convey wishes for fresh successes to you, dear comrades, in fulfilling the tasks put forward by the 10th PZPR Congress regarding your homeland's many-sided development and prosperity on the road of socialism.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Coman Receives Delegation of CPSU Activists

AU2307133388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1118 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/7/1988—A delegation of activists of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led by A.S. Pavlov, deputy chief of the Administrative Organs Department of the CC of the CPSU, visited Romania over 18-23 July at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

The guests had talks at the CC of the RCP, the Arges, and Vilcea County RCP Committees, and with executives of central institutions. They also saw around places of economic and social-cultural interest.

At the end of their visit, the delegation were received by Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Punishment of Sulina Waste Traders Applauded

AU2207184788 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Jul 88 p 5

[Unattributed editorial article: "Severe, But Fully Deserved Sanctions"]

[Text] Our public opinion has taken note of the initial results of the trial of those involved in the conclusion and implementation of illegal contracts to store some dangerous chemical and petrochemical waste products in the free port of Sulina and in trying to use those products in the country. Ascertaining that the deeds the culprits were charged with are seriously against the law and the interests of our society and people, and that their guilt in committing those deeds was proven, the Bucharest Municipal Tribunal pronounced severe, but fully deserved sentences. As reported, Hugo Weinstein, former representative of the "Kimika"-Liechtenstein company, was sentenced to 18 years in prison; Mihai Micu, former director of the administration of the free port of Sulina, to 13 years of prison; Dumitru Gavanescu, former chief accountant of the administration of the free port of Sulina, to 11 years in prison; Virgil Popescu, firmer coordinating director of the "Chimica"-Bucharest foreign trade enterprise, to 14 years in prison; Ioan Tetu, former deputy director of the "Chimica"-Bucharest foreign trade enterprise, to 12 years of prison; Ion Rupedeal, firmer chief accountant of the "Chimica"-Bucharest foreign trade enterprise, to 12 years in prison; and Silviu Nistor, former director of the administration of the free port of Sulina, to 11 years in prison. In accordance with the provisions of the law, the culprits have the right of appeal.

On the basis of this judiciary decision, very serious deeds and irresponsible attitudes toward the interests of the people, of society, and of our nation have been duly sanctioned.

Building a new economy, a tremendous national wealth, bringing about basic changes in social life, and establishing a new order, the essence of which is the constant concern with increasing the society's wealth and with strengthening and protecting this wealth to the benefit and in the interest of the working people and of all our people, our society has also instituted a legal system designed to protect and consolidate these great achievements and to strengthen socialist law and each citizen's awareness and respect for the duties resting on him, for the collectivity, and for the law. In the interest of these major requirement, our people and society demand that each citizen, irrespective of who he is or what position he holds, should respect and defend socialist law, while those who depart from legal provisions, thus prejudicing the interests of our society and people, be called to account in accordance with their guilt. The law is compulsory for all and the complete and consistent observance of legal provisions is an indisputable obligation; he who does not respect the provisions of the law places himself outside the law, assumes, in fact, a position that runs counter to the interests of our society.

It goes without saying that those holding leadership positions within working collectives and in society are duty-bound to assume increased responsibility, show concern, and take maximum care, so that legal provisions are unswervingly observed and that the party and state decisions are strictly applied. Through the very positions entrusted to them, they are obligated to be active and energetic promoters of socialist law and of order and discipline. Our country's laws reflect and protect the major interests of society, they are the outcome of the people's desire in general, and thus the attitude toward them and their truthful and constant application demonstrates, in the final analysis, real attachment to the people. Responsible work implies high moral qualities, revolutionary awareness, devotion, and self-denial toward the interests of our society in general, and it implies firm determination to serve these interests commendably. To lead a working collective, to be responsible for the management of a part of the social wealth requires primarily to see to it that laws are observed and firmly applied and that order and discipline are constantly strengthened. This is why it is incomprehensible that people, whose task it is to assume responsibility in ensuring order, discipline, and the application of the law, should disregard legal provisions. Such conduct, as in the Sulina case, illustrates a serious departure from the very essence of the mission entrusted to them and it proves that they have betrayed the trust bestowed on them. Through its significance and possible consequences, the violation of the law committed by such people is incomparably more serious and needs to be sanctioned accordingly and very firmly. When the law is disregarded by those who have been appointed to commendably observe it, then—in the name of justice—the sanction pronounced should be severe and match the deeds committed.

Therefore, our public opinion, taking note of the sanctions pronounced in the case regarding the storing of

harmful wastes in the free port of Sulina, view them as correct and as an expression of the intransigence toward any violations of and departure from our country's laws, which express the will of our people and protect their interests. The law's firm rebuff is a fully justified treatment of any deed whereby our society's major interests are seriously disregarded, all the more so when such a deed has been committed by people appointed to protect and serve public interests. The strictness of the law is the bearer of social interests and legality is also an organic component and a vital condition of our socialist democracy.

'Racism,' 'Cosmopolitism' Attack Sovereignty

AU2307183788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1752 GMT 23 Jul 88

["Scientific, Humanistic Conception on the Thriving of Nation"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/07/1988—In recent decades the Romanian political thinking has approached with scientific rigour, in the spirit of dialectical and historic materialism and of the fundamental principles of scientific socialism, the sacred principles of national independence, the nations' right to equal treatment in the political, economic, cultural and international planes, stresses an article signed by Constantin Popovici in SCINTEIA. The author points out that in the theoretical work of President Nicolae Ceausescu, in his political activity, the nation, the equal rights of nations and states, national independence and sovereignty, defining the traits of nation in the socialist times, and finding solutions to the national question are reference chapters. They are theoretical and political approaches of a zone of the contemporary social relations in which effervescence is high and where, both objectively and subjectively, centuries and millenia have left the sediment of complex and grave problems, interests, tensions, latent and manifest contradictions with vivid repercussions and reverberations, sometimes dramatic, on the contemporary world. The article shows inter alia:

The conception of the RCP, of President Nicolae Ceausescu on the role of nations at present is all the more relevant as around this type of human community, in the area of interference of various ideologies and conflicting interests, there have emerged prejudice and smart dissimulation, various forms of nationalism, chauvinism, xenophobia, racism as well as cosmopolitism, obsequiousness, national nihilism.

In these respects the theoretical and practical work of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party stems from an in-depth understanding of the current imperatives regarding the cause of socialism, the normal progress of the international relations, and, at the same time, from a powerful sense of responsibility for the destiny of the Romanian people, of Socialist Romania. Confidence among peoples, eliminating the wars and the conflicts, genuine setting in of the principle of the states' and nations' fully equal rights are not possible if ignoring the role of the nations and cannot be based on prejudice and such extremisms as chauvinism or national nihilism. Any generous ideal in the name of humanism, freedom, human rights, is nothing but demagogy if the practices of the policy of force and threat of force, interference in the domestic affairs continue to exist in the world, if an end is not put to neocolonialim and to drying out the national economies of the less developed states by means of onerous rates of interests and prices, if the old "time-honoured" ways of diversion—nationalism, chauvinism, irredentism—are revived. Interstate confidence and soldarity remain doubtful as long as in thinking and practice there still lingers the nostalgia after being a big power, a master of territories, lives, work and assets belonging to other peoples, as long as the appetite for foreign wealth is alive and the lessons taught by history have not been duly learned. In this respect President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: It is only by observing the interests of each nation that conditions may be created to establish indeed free relations among states and attain ever greater rapprochement between them. Overlooking the vital interests of peoples and their will to build their destiny freely, with no foreign interference, tolerating encroachment upon the people's sacred sovereignty would mean abdication from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, sliding into cosmopolitism and national nihilism which would greatly damage the cause of socialism and peace.

The question of the nations and their relations is a reality pulsating vividly in the life of the contemporary world, even though various voices in the field of social theory consider it to be marginal and even obsolete.

Generally speaking, under all its aspects—economic, technical, scientific, cultural—the general progress of mankind involves national work, the people's own effort. In a world of growing communication and interdependence in all the planes, of multiplying global questions, at a time when isolation from the international circuits is absurd, the nuclei promoting all these realities are the nations, with their possibility to grow free, sovereign and independent. Romania's integration into these circuits, its active and permanent presence in the vast network of international relations proves that the the theoretical view of these contemporary questions of the nation and the policy of our party and state overlap.

Defining most clearly the contemporary role of the nation, of the national frameworks for the social development has been a vital demand for the Romanian people. The reasons of this imperative have been explained comprehensively and systematically in the works of President Nicolae Ceausescu. The conception worked out in this field by the party general secretary meets the fundamental command to clear up the due premises, conditions and directions for building the socialist system in Romania.

Along history the Romanian people was faced with its own question of nationalities, paying for it with long centuries of human suffering, material frustration and serious lagging behind the rates at which the European peoples which enjoyed geopolitical security developed their economy, culture and forms of life. The struggle against dividing the Romanian lands, imposed by the adverse circumstances of history, against raids from abroad and foreign domination, the tenacious defending of the being of the Romanian people, of the territory of its permanently endangered political, economic and cultural existence, the hope and struggle for independence and state unity make the spine of the national history. This is what cannot be forgotten and will never be forgotten. This is the source inspiring the feeling of national dignity and the will of the Romanian people to be the master of its own home.

The socialist epoch confirmed, in Romania as well as in many other countries building a new social system, that nation has reached the climax in the assertion of its ability to achieve and that it becomes as a whole, with no privileges and social discriminations, the full beneficiary of its own work and creation.

Socialism has impressed a new pace and new dimensions on the national life. In an ample process, with all the aspects of society on the move, mutually conditioning and supporting one another, remaining farther and farther behind and being eliminated are those forms of existence of what is old which affected in a negative way the unity of the people, the life of nation. Gone are exploitation, unemployment, life insecurity, discrimination between social classes, generations and citizens of various nationality, between men and women, villages and towns, between the opportunities of assertion in the political and the economic and the cultural life. The foundations have been cast of social equality and equity, the whole Romanian people, the country's citizens, with absolutely no discrimination either as concerns their rights or obligations, being involved in the vast, in the huge work to restructure and develop in a modern way the entire economy and social life, the town and the village, industry and agriculture, the management of society, culture, science and education.

After the Ninth RCP Congress the Romanian people has traversed a truly historic road at a quick step, building its socialist present and future according to its own resources, possibilities and necessities, according to its own estimates and options which have objectively imposed themselves. This road continues to be open—there is no terminal point for progress—and the way the problems encountered on this road will be solved is a matter concerning the Romanian people.

Ljubljana Meeting Protests Jansa Trial

LD2207193188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1850 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Jul (TANJUG)—About 8,000 citizens of, all generations, including entire families and veterans participating in the Franja traditional cycling marathon, gathered at a protest meeting at Ljubljana's Mostec weekend resort this evening. The meeting was organized by the Ljubljana Society for the Protection of Human Rights to protest the trial of Borstner, Tasic, Jansa, and Zavrl. It began with a moment of silence. Igor Bacvar, member of the committee, several former partisans, poet Tone Partljic, and Franci Zavrl—the only accused to have been granted bail—made repeated comments addressed to the Slovene leadership and sociopolitical organizations of this republic for allowing, in their words, this "shameful, humiliating court trial." They strongly criticized the supreme Military Court for encroaching upon the sovereign rights of the Slovene people and statehood. They assessed the statement from the latest session of the SFRY Presidency on the use of Serbo-Croatian during the trial in almost the same way. All this, as they kept stressing, violates the rights of the Slovene people and restricts their freedom.

Further Report

AU2307155188 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2000 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] We celebrate 22 July, the Uprising Day of the Slovene People, today. The main celebration was held yesterday. A number of lesser celebrations were held in many places today, especially on the fields of Slovene partisans' battles. More than 100 young people from Jesenice, Bohinj, and Tolmin started on a hike along the Triglav Division trail, and will gather on the peak of Triglav tomorrow.

A large popular gathering for Uprising Day was held at Mostec in Ljubljana this afternoon. It was attended by some 15,000 people. In addition to a cultural program, several speakers spoke about the trial before the Military Court in Ljubljana and repeated the well-known demands.

A Slovene delegation laid flowers at Josip Broz Tito's tomb in Belgrade this morning. Another delegation laid a wreath at the Revolution Monument in Ljubljana.

SAWPY Body on Trial

AU2207182388 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] The SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium has accepted a proposal on replacing some FEC members and appointing new ones. The proposal was expounded upon by FEC President Branko Mikulic. A Vojvodina representative's proposal to discuss, as he put it, the announced journey of Kosovo people to Pancevo tomorrow, was not accepted. Here is Nebojsa Petrovic reporting on the session:

Before Branko Mikulic expounded on the proposal to appoint new FEC members, SAWPY Presidium members debated a proposal to expand the agenda of the session. Along with the remark that this body had failed to obey the agreement reached 10 days ago that sessions should not be held on republican holidays, and today is the Slovene Uprising Day, Joze Smole proposed presenting a report on Slovene SAWP Republican Conference stances on the trial of Jansa, Borstner, Tasic, and Zavrl. Milan Daljevic did not agree with the proposal:

[Begin Daljevic recording] The trial in the military court in Ljubljana is being held according to all our laws, all federal legal regulations, and the laws on military courts, and I see no point in our discussing now the issues that are being solved and treated as regulated by our Constitution. [end recording]

Joze Smole took the floor once again:

[Begin Smole recording] I did not ask for a debate; I just wanted to inform you. [end recording]

Finally, the Presidium decided that the report on the stances of the Slovene SAWP Presidium would be distributed to all members and that, if necessary, a debate will be held on it.

FEC President Branko Mikulic presented the proposal on relieving Radovan Makic, Dr Ibrahim Tabakovic, Mito Pejovski, Dr Dragi Danev, and Miodrag Mirovic, president of the Federal Committee for Tourism, of their duties and appointing Dr Stevo Mirjanic, Dzevad Mujezinovic, Jovo Panajotovic, Boris Rikalovski, Dr Radoslav Bohinc, and Franc Horvat to their posts. Dragi Danev is not relieved of duty but is proposed for the post of president of the Federal Committee for Transportation and Communications.

[Begin Mikulic recording] The changes I have proposed in the FEC are necessary for the following reasons: First, the post of president of the Federal Committee for Transportation and Communications was vacated earlier when Mustafa Pljakic was relieved of duty. Second, in the latest reorganization of the federal administration, a new federal administrative organ was formed—the Federal Secretariat for Economy—and at its May session the SFRY Assembly failed to appoint this federal secretary. Third, in the latest reorganization of the federal administrative organs, some federal administrative organs were abolished and some merged, and thus the number was reduced and officials who headed them relieved of their duties. These changes have upset the previously established relations between numbers of cadres from republics and provinces occupying leading

posts in the federal administrative organs. As a consequence of these changes, at the moment the SR of Slovenia has no representative among the leading cadres in the federal administration who are ex officio FEC members, and the SR of Macedonia and the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina are represented in only one secretariat each. Fourth, a number of FEC members from the so-called parity section asked to be relieved of their duties as FEC members because of health and other personal and family reasons or because they are assuming other duties. [end recording]

Nenad Bucin said that he considers the FEC president's explanation to be formal, because in his opinion the purpose of the reconstruction is to improve the work of the body. Therefore, one has to state clearly what has not been done well and who it was who failed to work well. The SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium finally endorsed Branko Mikulic's explanation on the changes in the FEC. It was concluded that republics and provinces should give their opinions on the proposed changes by 27 July at the latest, so that the Presidium session could be held on the same day.

During the rest of the session, the Presidium accepted the proposal on forming an operational working group which is to prepare a report on the implementation of SAWPY Federal Conference Stances on Kosovo for the next Federal Conference session. Stojan Dimovski was appointed coordinator of the working group.

Republic-Province Dispute Sparks Pancevo Protest
LD2307173488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1624 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] Pancevo, July 23 (TANJUG)—Several thousand people today protested in Pancevo, a town in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina in the vicinity of Belgrade, demanding unity in the Republic of Serbia and deblocking of changes in its Constitution.

People from Pancevo and its surroundings, joined by some thirty Serbs and Montenegrins from Serbia's Autonomous Province of Kosovo, expressed support to the efforts by the Serbian leadership to return to the republic the jurisdiction over its entire territory.

A conflict over the proposed constitutional changes in Serbia—Yugoslavia's largest and most populous republic—has been growing over the past few days. The disputes between the republican and the provincial leaderships flared up after a recent protest rally by Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Vojvodina's capital of Novi Sad. They accused the Vojvodina leadership of blocking the constitutional changes which, they said, helped Albanian separatists and chauvinists in Kosovo and contributed to the permanent emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins under pressure.

Since the counterrevolution staged by Albanian separatists and chauvinists in Kosovo in 1981, some 30,000 Serbs and Montengrins and members of other nations have emigrated from the province.

The Vojvodina leadership refused to meet with the protesters from Kosovo, describing their arrival in Novi Sad as a deliberate provocation aimed at destabilizing the province.

This was followed by meetings throughout Serbia which expressed support to the Serbian party leadership and condemned the Vojvodina leadership.

The Yugoslav party Presidency urged both leaderships to end recrimination and resolve the controversies concerning the constitutional changes in a democratic atmosphere, free from pressures and tension. It also demanded an end to meetings of support to the Serbian party leadership.

Despite this, the protest rally in Pancevo today expressed full support to President of the League of Communists of Serbia Presidency Slobodan Milosevic. The demonstrators rejected accusations addressed to the Serbian leadership that its aims were a "greater Serbia" and "third Yugoslavia." Pointing out that Serbian state and party organs cannot and must not make any compromises, they upheld the demand by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee for resolving the political crisis in Serbia.

The Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins said at the rally that they would never leave the southern (Kosovo) province and that "there will be no retreat before separatists." They were received by communal officials of Pancevo.

Kosovo Stance on March
AU2307185088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] Most of the people in the columns that had earlier marched in Belgrade and Novi Sad were citizens from Kosovo Polje. However, they did not march in Pancevo. Why? Milivoje Mihajlovic reports from Kosovo Polje:

The citizens of Kosovo Polje, who usually lead the columns of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Belgrade, have not gone to Pancevo. They have respected the recommendation of the SAWPY Federal Conference and the positions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Last night, a group of citizens had departed for Pancevo, but after talks with the local community leadership and the members of a working group of the LC of Serbia Central Committee, the Kosovo people returned home from the Kosovo Polje railroad station.

In a conversation with Pavle Jovanovic, member of the Communal Committee of the LC of Pristina who is an activist in this field, we have learned that the sociopolitical structures have insisted that the people from this locality should not go to Pancevo. They did not go because they believe in the LC of Serbia and the LCY, Pavle Jovanovic said.

The Kosovo Polje people have shown once again that they believe that the Kosovo situation may be stabilized only if all the party tasks are consistently implemented.

The people of Kosovo Polje believe that marches in the towns of Serbia are now unnecessary, because all of Yugoslavia has been acquainted with the problems of the Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo. They say that problems must be solved where they have arisen, which is to say in the province.

Pancevo Presidium on Protest

LD2307195888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1743 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] Pancevo, 23 July (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Pancevo SAWP Municipal Conference today ascertained that all the necessary conditions had been ensured to receive the citizens of Serb and Montenegrin nationalities from Kosovo in connection with their announced arrival. The statement issued at the session said, among other things, that the Presidium had noted that the announced arrival of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo had taken place only partially because only 23 citizens of the Serb and Montenegrin nationalities from Vitina, Pec, and Urosevac had come, while no one had come from Kosovo Polje. The Presidium ascertained that about 3,000 citizens from Belgrade, Smederevo, Nova Pazova, Vrsac, Bela Crkva, Pancevo, and other surrounding areas had gathered in the square in front of the municipal assembly building.

Despite the attempt to hold talks with the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo in a room prepared for the meeting, this suggestion was not accepted, the statement said.

The Presidium made the assessment that illegal leaflets and the activities of certain individuals resulted in a section of the citizenry being manipulated and, creating a situation in which demonstrations and a meeting had to be accepted, even though the Presidium does not accept this method of resolving problems.

The Presidium denounced and disassociated itself from certain unacceptable and groundless banners, slogans, and speeches, and from name-calling and disqualifications.

The Presidium understood that the assembled citizens had unanimously endorsed the justified demands of the Serbs and Montenegrins to have the very complex problems in Kosovo resolved. The Presidium aligned itself with these demands and will make every effort to have the complex problems in Kosovo resolved more quickly and efficiently. The Presidium will make a concrete and full contribution in this respect, the statement said.

Serbian Leadership Assesses Protests

LD2207201588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1857 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 22 (TANJUG)—The recent protest meetings of citizens in Serbia were the expression of great and invaluable support to the leadership of this republic in its struggle for unity in Serbia and Yugoslavia, for constitutional changes, and for the publicity of work of all leaderships, Serbian party chief Slobodan Milosevic said today.

These rallies cannot be described as politicizing, but as the essential quality of democracy, said Milosevic at the session of the Serbian party leaderrship.

The meetings which expressed support to the Serbian party leadership and criticized the leaderships of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina were organized after the arrival of several hundred Serb and Montenegrins from the autonomous province of Kosovo in Vojvodina's capital of Novi Sad. The Vojvodina leadership refused to meet the group which demanded that they stop blocking the changes in the constitution of Serbia, whose part Vojvodina and Kosovo are.

The Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo see the constitutional changes, which would expand Serbia's rights in the domains of judiciary, security, national defense and international cooperation to its entire territory, as the only way to resolve their difficult position. For years, they have been forced to leave their homes under pressure from Albanian chauvinists and separatists who see an "ethnically pure" Kosovo as a way of ensuring its status as a republic, its secession from Yugoslavia, and subsequent annexation to Albania.

The arrival of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo to Novi Sad, gave rise to a controversy between the party leaderships of Vojvodina and Serbia. The Yugoslav party leadership reacted to this by demanding that the two leaderships stop polemics and mutual recriminations, calling on the republic and the provinces to overcome controversial issues concerning the constitutional changes in a democratic and constructive atmosphere, without pressures or tension. The Yugoslav party leadership also said that the rallies held in support of the leadership of Serbia should no longer be held.

The Yugoslav party presidency assessed that the Serbs and the Montenegrins were justified in demanding faster solutions to their problems, but underlined that party organs in Serbia and Kosovo should prevent similar gatherings as an unacceptable form of pressure and aggravation of the already difficult situation.

The Serbs and the Montenegrins from Kosovo said they would tomorrow hold a protest rally in Pancevo, a Vojvodina town whose citizens have criticized the provincial leadership for blocking the constitutional changes.

Commentary Defends Vojvodina Leadership

AU2207135888 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jul 88 p 6

[Nikola Cvetkovic commentary: "Not Only POLITIKA's Policy"]

[Text] Even though it does not seem so at first sight, everything always develops according to some internal logic of matters which is not unrecognizable. It could in no way be said that this is unexpected, regardless of how unusual everything that happens to us is. There is really a lot of this, none of this is harmless at the present time, and it could be said that it is fateful for the future. What happened during the demonstration of the protesting columns of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo in Novi Sad is most conspicuous, because it is most crucial.

The dissatisfaction with the contents of the last session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, held on 14 July, at which the call of the LCY Central Committee Presidium that the demonstrations of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo in Novi Sad not be discussed in public before this body met, was neglected—so that other ghosts would not be awakened—and particularly the dissatisfaction with the way this session was directed, has made the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium acquaint the Yugoslav public with the proceedings of the last session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, which was held on 13 July. At this, the committee members talked about their view of the causes, course, and consequences of the demonstrations in Novi Sad, but behind closed doors. On this occasion they authorized their presidium to make the whole meeting public if the instructions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium were not respected at the Serbian LC Central Committee session.

After it was acquainted with everything that was said at the Serbian LC Central Committee session, the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium immediately, that is, on 15 July, "put" into circulation the reports from the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee session. Journalists informed their editorial boards of all this. Newspapers published information on the work of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee in the way they wanted and were able, considering the technical circumstances. Some of them, for example Belgrade POLITIKA, simply kept quiet about the session of the highest body of the Vojvodina LC. However, it then published a rather long, raging commentary on everything that was said at the provincial committee session (and in that way most probably spoiled the weekly rest of many of its readers).

Let us ignore the fact that this time the newspaper acted as if it did not appreciate the common sense of its readers and it began to interpret facts without even presenting them. It probably thinks that its readers have boundless faith in it, but the time has come when an almost negligible number of people are inclined to merely take somebody's word for something....

Nevertheless, it is necessary above all to calmly analyze the facts. The publication of the stances of the LC provincial leadership on the 9 July events in Novi Sad, but also, as it was assessed, on the unprecedented campaign against the provincial leadership and the pressures on the course of the constitutional discussions, came after the Serbian LC Central Committee session and represents only its own type of reply to it. The Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee session was not devised as a means of some kind of manipulation, but as part of the regular work of the party forum, and nothing happened that deserves to be called a precedent. This word can only be used with total justification for the demonstrations in Novi Sad, as such a thing has not happened in Yugoslav political life since the war (and knowledgable people claim not before the war either).

At the Serbian LC Central Committee session itself, or to be more precise after the third speaker in the discussion, Zarko Cosic warned the chairman, Slobodan Milosevic, that the demonstrations in Novi Sad should not be the subject of the session, but the latter pointed out that he did not care about comments of that sort.

After the 20-hour session, he only concluded by saying that "questions of Kosovo and questions which were directly linked with it" had been discussed. So many serious words had been said at the expense of Vojvodina and its leadership which were "linked with it" that the leadership did not want to, could not, and even did not dare keep quiet, but it had to immediately publish its stands. However, POLITIKA called them all "an attack on the Serbian nation, Serbia, and the leadership of the SR of Serbia." In fact, these harsh reproaches were aimed at the leadership and even named leaders who are now in the republican political leadership. Each of the assessors attempted to base their words on proofs, and even more can (and in the present circumstances must) be said about them.

However, why do certain leaders, or some others on their behalf, think that the criticism leveled at them is an attack on the Serbian nation and Serbia? If someone thinks in this way, then it must be noticed that this is a question of the usual behavior of rulers since time in memorial, who always claimed that they, in fact, are the people, because they know what the people think and they know what the people need, as only they can offer something valuable to the people.... Every primary school student knows what such patriots have done for their people and how they have come out of it themselves.

From paragraph to paragraph, POLITIKA asks increasingly difficult questions, establishes increasingly grave responsibility, and draws increasingly serious conclusions about the leadership of the Vojvodina Socialist Autonomous Province, and all this without a more serious explanation based on undeniable facts. One needs much space, time, knowledge, and even patience, as well as political skill and wisdom of life to analyze and explain all this. This should definitely be done, as POLITIKA's policy is not only POLITIKA's. It should be seen who, in fact, disputes the stances of the first LCY Conference that economic and social reform must be carried out without delay. It would be equally important to say that explanations are needed in order to thus repay the country's debt to Kosovo, as its future is the fate of Yugoslavia. In the fervor of populist politics, it is the general experience that every people, even in Kosovo, can be easily forgotten.

While yesterday's POLITIKA was still being set at the printers, "spontaneous," "brief and sincere" etc. meetings of workers were beginning to be held throughout Serbia, at which the assessments were adopted that "the leadership of the SR of Serbia speaks the language of the Serbian people and the worker class and faithfully interprets their demands." In brief, these meetings show that political tension is increasing and that passions are spreading through the people: All this together creates a picture which strongly recalls the past mass movement [in Croatia at the beginning of the 1970's] "worker support for the republican leadership" which, as was seen later, were only a part of a wave of nationalistic errors and dangerous power-loving tendencies. New accusations, approaching an avalanche of unpleasant questions, easily emerge from this tension. At the joint session of the Belgrade SAWP City Conference and the Trade Union Federation City Council of Belgrade, putting a question about factionalism in the LC was hinted at, among other things. Indeed, this was done within the framework of attacks on the provincial political leadership, but it would be more honest and more fitting for it to be asked in a more general way, as the disturbed unity of the LC can only be reestablished in this way. Without it, (and even enemies of the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia know this) there is no real solution to all the questions about the future of our unity and state.

Novi Sad Protest Debate Viewed

AU2307132388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 88 p 1

[Slavko Curuvija commentary: "To Return to the Main Thing"]

[Text] At first glance this was the most ordinary but still the most important news of the last few months. As it was officially stated yesterday, the LCY Central Committee Presidium—according to the conclusion of its last session—has opened the debate on the reports, stands, and assessments of the presidiums of the Serbian LC Central Committee, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, and the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee regarding the protest by citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities from Kosovo in Novi Sad on 9 July this year.

The particular significance of the start of this debate is at least twofold. First, it comes as a direct and more than necessary reaction to the deepening and widening political disagreements and passions which came to a head after the protests by the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad. Second, the situation which has been created will show through its outcome whether the LCY Central Committee Presidium is not only ready to react promptly, but also (bearing its share of statuary obligations) to be up to the challenge and risks of the present complex and explosive political situation.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium will confirm and report its "assessments and stands" which will be presented to the LCY Central Committee and issued to "the party and wider public." It would, however, be good for this—up to the moment when these "assessments and stances" will become valid (although this is only a matter of one single day)—to also provide political control over the situation so that it does not worsen over one essential point. Sufficient warning that this is necessary is the destiny of the previous insistence of the LCY Central Committee Presidium that the "unprincipled public confrontations" between the political leaderships of the SR of Serbia and Vojvodina be calmed down. It has been demonstrated that such a warning was nevertheless a weak barrier to the dissent of the people, to a heating up of the political atmosphere, and to the heavy verbal artillery fire from various political cannons.

The calming of passions, even if their absence did not mean serious political risks, would be necessary because the situation's slide toward impassioned speeches at meetings brings with it the danger that the main thing will be "lost" as the snowball rolls downhill. When relations in the SR of Serbia are in question, the main thing must be the realization of the stand of the LCY Central Committee which was reached more then 2 years ago:

"The set-up and functioning of the SR of Serbia as a state and self-managing community represent an important question of the right of the Serbian people to form its own state, like the other peoples in the SFRY, which has not been completely realized because in practice, the constitutional principle that the provinces are constiuent parts of the SR of Serbia, has not been consistently implemented...."

Since the "sides in conflict" over the problems of the constitutional position of the SR of Serbia have not yet managed to find a common language, it would be good if the LCY Central Committee Presidium said what else needs to be done in order for the "set-up and functioning

of the SR of Serbia" to be completely realized and for the "constitutional principle that the provinces are constituent parts of the SR of Serbia to be consistently implemented."

SAWP Presidium on Kosovo Serbs

LD2207144988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1253 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jul (TANJUG)—There is no departure from the stands of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. This conclusion of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium was endorsed today in connection with the announced arrival in Pancevo of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

The presidium calls attention to a section of the LCY Central Committee Presidium stands, which reads: "In view of the harmful implications of the events in Novi Sad, the LCY Central Committee Presidium warns of the need for the organs of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee to prevent through political action any announced mass gatherings and departures to other areas, made as a form of exercising unacceptable pressure and exacerbating the already complex social situation, and to make resolute efforts toward dealing with the problems in Kosovo."

At the proposal of a special working group formed by the Presidium at today's session, held in connection with the demand by Djordje Milutinovic, Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference president, it was decided to inform the members of this body about the announced arrival in Pancevo of a group of citizens from Kosovo. The working group consisted of the representatives of republican and provincial SAWP organization.

The presidium's stand was relayed to journalists by SAWPY Federal Conference Secretary Josip Hrvatin.

SAWPY Presidium Endorses Proposed Changes

LD2307085188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1028 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 22 Jul (TANJUG)—Today the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium endorsed the explanation by Branko Mikulic, FEC president, to relieve from duty and appoint members to the federal government. This started a preliminary procedure for a reconstruction of the FEC which, in accordance with the SFRY Constitution, is being carried out in the Socialist Alliance. The procedure is envisaged to be completed by 27 July, so that the following day Branko Mikulic could offer definite proposals to the SFRY Assembly. [passage omitted]

Dr Miodrag Mirovic should also be relieved of his duties as president of the Federal Committee for Tourism, thereby ceasing to be a member of the FEC. Explaining this proposal, Mikulic said that Mirovic had successfully carried out his duties but that the change was necessary in order to ensure equitable presentation of cadres from the republics and provinces. Apart from tourism, officials from Montenegro are currently in charge of the departments of internal affairs and information.

As Mikulic said today, until further notice there would be no changes in the composition of the FEC.

According to Mikulic, changes in the composition of the FEC were necessary in order to fill the vacant posts created by a departure of officials and joining of individual departments and to ensure an appropriate representation of cadres from the republics and provinces. The consultations have been very long, they have lasted since May, and some of the proposals I succeeded in harmonizing only yesterday, Mikulic said.

In response to objections that the proposals have been presented to the Socialist Alliance only 5 days before the Assembly session, Mikulic said that certain comrades, whom he specifically sought, could not take up new duties either because of personal reasons or because they could not be relieved from their present duties.

This, together with the fact that I have so far not known a great number of candidates, prolonged the procedure. That is why I am compelled to ask the Socialist Alliance to carry out the procedure of consultations with the republican and provincial organizations of the SAWP and sociopolitical organizations in the federation in a very short period, Mikulic said.

Member of the Presidium Nenad Bucin asserted that the explanation to relieve certain members of the FEC of their duties, which stated, as he said, primarily personal and arithmetic reasons, was not sufficient. The public should be told whether the changes are being carried out so that the FEC could work better, and criticism of the government and some of its individual members expressed in the SFRY Assembly should also be taken into account. Even previously we used to know who comes from which republic and when they will retire.

In response to Bucin, Mikulic said that all comments directed toward the FEC had been dealt with at the May session of the Assembly. It is well known that the FEC has worked and works in exceptionally difficult economic and other conditions, and we jointly bear the responsibility for failures and mistakes since we work as a collective. This or that member of the FEC, Mikulic stressed, could not be reproached for everything.

It would be wrong, Mikulic went on to say, to claim that I am solely responsible for the expertise and capability of the members of the government that I put forward. Out of the six of them, I have seen four of them for the first time. It is assumed that the republican organs with whom I have carried out consultations have taken into account that the cadres they recommend for important federal offices have the necessary qualities. This means that some of the responsibility is also borne by them.

Serbian LC Body Discusses Role of Press

AU2306190988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jun 88 p 3

[M.T. report: "The Truth—The Only Inspiration"]

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Jun—To be on the observation post of social life, but not as an observer, and to offer the public in an expert way all Yugoslav information which is not taken in by narrow regional or separatist-nationalist interests, is the fundamental task of a journalist which emerges from the LCY Conference Stances. Thus, editorial boards are obliged to make their plans, appointing personnel and setting deadlines for these, while also taking account of responsibility. This is the general conclusion of today's session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Commission for Information and Propaganda on the role of the press in the struggle to find a way out of the crisis.

Only after the discussion on constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia began could certain differences in tone be distinguished. Most of the delegates agreed with Dragan Nikitovic, who gave the introductory speech, that the view that there is no need to change anything in the constitutional position of Serbia is unacceptable. "Serbia wants nothing more than to belong to the others—to be equal in an equal federation."

In answer to this, Slobodan Budakov said, "I do not agree with the thesis on the inequality of the SR of Serbia. Such an appraisal has not been given in any party document and not even in the report of the Serbian LC. Proceeding from the thesis on the unequal position of Serbia can lead us the wrong way."

In the dialogue that followed, Zivorad Dordevic said that general attitudes and facts cannot be in balance. According to him, publications should not identify with individual structures, but with the nation, citizens, and membership. Journalists will not stray if they do not identify with reality, with the truth.

According to Vojislav Micovic, the assertion of the flourishing of the press which subscribes to the belief that journalism is independent from society, is undialectical, inexact, and false. In his opinion, there is a crisis in the press (support for the policy of finding a way out of the crisis is lacking, social demagoguery is appearing), as well as a crisis of morality which he illustrated with the drastic example of the latest edition of the youth journal STAV. This journal wrote about Serbia and its leadership in an unacceptable way. It made lists of a political hue, or mockingly spoke about the southern accent, as in the title "Who Is From Where in Serbia."

Micovic suggested that such writing in Vojvodina be analyzed, that editorial boards and councils put press articles on their agendas, analyze editorial policy, and deal in particular with questions of cadre policy.

Assembly Committee Discusses Rationalization

AU2606200988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jun 88 p 1

[J. K. report: "Smaller Motor Pool"]

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jun—The federal organs must use social property even more rationally, especially the passenger cars and planes at their disposal. This was concluded today at the Federal Budget Committee session.

The federal organs, as their representative said, own 1,150 passenger cars, 52 buses and mini buses, 209 trucks, and 129 special purpose vehicles. They also have 6 planes, 1 helicopter, and 11 speed and other boats, as well as the "blue train." Because of the economic crisis and the continuous shortage of money, 24 bus lines and 40 buses which provide transportation for the employees in federal organs and organizations should be abolished by the end of this year as part of the rationalization measures. After all, public transportation exists in Belgrade and they can use it like any other citizen does.

The representative of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs presented the data according to which our country owns 118 pieces of property abroad used for diplomatic-consular offices, while a further 118 are rented. Their rent amounts to something over $3 million a year. More than one-half of the property owned by Yugoslavia is older than 50 years and is in fairly bad condition, but there is no money for repairs.

Up to now, in our diplomatic-consular offices, 42 posts have been scrapped and it has been proposed that at additional 107 places go as a part of the rationalization program. Since 1983, 29 diplomatic-consular offices have been closed.

Calling for even greater savings, the delegates proposed that the "blue train" and the planes be handed over to the national rail organization and air transport organizations respectively so that they could employ them more rationally. Although maintaining the federation's motor pool is not such a great expense, this appears to be the most irritable thing for the public. It was concluded, therefore that the cost of this should be urgently reassessed, that the number of vehicles and the users of vehicles and their rights should be reduced.

Dolanc on Serbia, Nationalism, Foreign Debt

LD2407150588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1053 GMT 24 Jul 88

[Text] Ivangrad, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—No one has the right to block the discussion on the Constitution and everyone must be prepared to discuss the problems, said Stane Dolanc, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, during his talks last night with the economic and political active of the Ivangrad municipality. Dolanc also

expressed the view that with the exception of the economic sphere, we should not go in for any changes apart from the initiatives given by the SFRY Presidency.

Speaking of the relations in the SR of Serbia, Dolanc said that differences had occurred in the views on the solution of five key problems. They are, he recalled, the settlement of the issues of national defense, security, the judiciary, and the role of the provinces in foreign policy and planning.

The SFRY Presidency has organized talks with the representative or rather with the leaderships of Serbia and the Provinces. What the Serb leadership has proposed, Dolanc stressed, represents a sound basis for discussion. Now it is very important, he said, that the solutions be sought through constructive talks leading to a common goal and not through press sniping.

As far as serious manifestations of nationalism are concerned, Dolanc said that this is anticommunism pure and simple, which is also abetted in some of our media. However, he added, nationalists are not all that strong, the problem is that we communists behave in an opportunist way. How many men of letters are there, to give an example, who have written a single word in the defense of the party and Tito? There are windbags who are trying to belittle absolutely everything that has been achieved in Yugoslavia, Dolanc added.

This is why it is important, he stressed, that the LC should embark on an organized and efficient action. The fact must be borne in mind that we communists alone cannot build socialism. We must relay for support on other forces of our society too. Fresh blood is circulating in the young generations, but we accept them with very great difficulty indeed. We find it all too easy to proclaim everything that comes up in relation to them as unacceptable, with the result that we often lose young people. In this respect, the role of the SAWP is irreplaceable.

Speaking of our foreign debt, Dolanc said that it is true that it is considerable, but that its size is not as terrible as the things the resources were spent on.

Publication Details Economic Trends

LD2307090388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0450 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 23, (TANJUG)—Although the Yugoslav economy is under severe strain, the country is consolidating and even slowly improving its standing in international economic flows and relations. This improvement is indicated by aggregate prices, especially reduction in the net amount of foreign debt and a better foreign trade balance with the long-desired increase in sales of export products in the convertible currency area. These three trends are continuing, and they are being accompanied by the introduction of long-range export programmes, whose fulfillment more than ever before depends on the country's own production capacity, higher labour productivity, and more efficient organisation of production and sales according to market criteria.

These trends and aims are elaborated in the new edition of the publication in English "YUGOSLAVIA TRADING" which this time appears for the fourth consecutive year.

On the 150 pages of textual features and illustrations, numerical tables and graphics are presented main features of Yugoslav economic trends and Yugoslav views on possibilities to improve economic cooperation with the world.

Special attention is paid to those sectors which have pioneered technical advance in the country, such as metallurgy, the share of which the GDP rose from 2 per cent to 3.2 per cent in the 22 year period since 1954 to 1986 year [as received], then metal processing and fabricating industries whose share rose from just 4 per cent to 12 per cent, or chemical industry whose shares in GDP rose to 4.3 per cent presently, compared with negligible 0.7 per cent at its start of development.

The publication elaborates different fields of Yugoslav economic cooperation with other countries, including capital works of Yugoslav enterprises in 74 countries of the world, possibilities of direct investments in Yugoslav economy, refers to free industrial and customs areas, foreign trade, industrial branches, as well as activities of the Yugoslav diplomatic and consular missions abroad, and addresses of tourist offices and joint representative offices of Yugoslav firms throughout the world.

The publishers are the Yugoslav Economic Chamber of Belgrade and "Privredni Vjesnik" of Zagreb. The publication is printed in 5,000 copies and is available at a price of 15 dollars a copy.

Joze Skolc Elected Slovenian Youth President

AU2407204188 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 88 p 12

[V.R. report: "Joze Skolc Youth President"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 19 Jul—Joze Skolc, a 28-year-old political scientist at present in military service, is the new president of Slovenian youth. The delegates to the selection session chose the technician Andrej Verlic as secretary to the Republican Conference of the League of Socialist Youth.

This is the conclusion to a selection procedure lasting many months which, with the imprisonment of Janez Jansa, one of the candidates for the post of president, assumed an almost dramatic character.

Today's session of the Republican Conference of the Slovenian League of Socialist Youth Republican Committee, which lasted many hours and was in fact the

conclusion of a session adjourned 2 weeks ago, various proposals were heard before the view prevailed that the selection procedure must be brought to an end. Out of three candidates for the post of president of the Slovenian League of Socialist Youth Republican Committee, Janez Jansa and Dusko Koc each received 15 votes, and Skolc 35, in the first round of the secret ballot.

In the second round, a single candidate, Joze Skolc, obtained the required majority.

Not everybody was pleased by such a conclusion to the youth elections. As Bozidar Novak, president of the Maribor University Youth Conference, said, "A historic opportunity has been missed, similar to that lost by the Slovenian politicians in 1919, when the Slovenian people lost their national army, and similar to that which was almost lost in 1941, but which was not, thanks to the partisan armed forces." Novak is of the opinion that Jansa was not selected for president because of "the irresponsible ignorance of the base" and because of the proved theory that it is youth politicians, and not young people, who are elected as presidents. Novak will, as he said, even propose that the University Youth Conference should withdraw from the Slovenian youth body and constitute itself as an independent youth organization.

Criticism of Tito's Legacy Deplored

AU2407204388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jul 88 p 13

[Belgrade Television commentary by Milos Markovic: "A Text Full of Suspicions and Accusations"]

[Text] If some groups and individuals were right, the solution to our crisis would appear virtually overnight. Josip Broz Tito would simply be blamed for all our problems and everything that worries us would thereby disappear. These and similar ideas have recently been ever more frequently spread. Let us recall that MLADINA, a magazine that could hardly surprise us with anything, regarded Tito as a foreign politician, alongside Al-Qadhdhafi and others. It bothers MLADINA when workers carry Tito's picture. In recent days, the Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Thought and Expression from Belgrade sent to the Yugoslav Presidency, the Yugoslav Assembly, and the Yugoslav public a proposal for what its text calls free and critical inquiry into the political role of Josip Broz Tito. The text, full of suspicions and accusations, claims that Tito's political role has not been put in an objective, historical context.

It states that there can be no way out of the crisis without critical inquiry into the role of Josip Broz Tito who, according to the authors of this proposals, is responsible for all our present difficulties. The members of the committee blame the foremost figure of the Yugoslav revolution for the situation in Kosovo, and for Goli Otok [former island prison]. They reproach the statesman to whom the entire world credited the policy of nonalignment for distancing us from Europe and bringing us close to Africa and Asia. And more in the same vein.

If doubt is a virtue of the intellect, then the same intellect requires that suppositions, and especially assertions, must be based on the facts. If a reexamination of Tito's role is called for, let us think how his most important decisions and the essential elements of the policies he led could be assessed. Can one doubt the decisions to raise an armed rebellion, to break with Stalinism, to pursue a policy of the brotherhood and equality of all peoples and nationalities, to make self-management the fundamental basis of the social order, not to submit to either bloc, and to pursue a policy of peace and nonalignment? Did all this lead us into the crisis, or do more sensible answers to all these issues exist?

Nobody, of course, can claim that Tito is a spotless saint, that his achievement is protected by copyright from the judgment of history, and that every critical approach is forbidden. Nevertheless, the way in which the Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Thought and Expression treat Tito's personality fits nicely into those efforts to destroy everything which is of a Yugoslav character and carries authority. And Tito's achievement is, there can be no doubt, just that. Demolishing him does not lead to a way out of the crisis, but merely deepens the crisis in the country which, largely thanks to Tito's policies, has achieved a convincing identity and authority in the world.

Dizdarevic Addresses Army Officers

LD2407133688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0904 GMT 24 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—You are beginning your working career at a time which is crucial for our country's internal development. We have opted for radical economic reform and social changes which are opening up sure prospects for a way out of the difficulties, faster stabilization, and a drive for new development of our society. This was said during a ceremony today in the Academy of the Land Forces by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, when he congratulated, on behalf of the Presidency and in his own name, the young YPA officers on their first promotion.

Having thanked the parents, the instructors, and officers for their concern and their contribution to the training of young officers for responsible duties in our Army, Dizdarevic spoke of the present situation in our society.

The working class and the working people are making great efforts and sacrifices for economic reform, revival of production, adaptation to new market economy conditions, and preparation for the implementation of the changes in our economic system and of the impending constitutional changes, Dizdarevic said.

Overcoming the economic crisis and implementing the economic reform are, he added, the biggest general Yugoslav interest. They also require all our forces to be mobilized and all our energy to be committed in that direction. This is why it is necessary to establish a political climate which will encourage and mobilize our working class, our working people and citizens, and all our creative forces so that this basic objective can be fulfilled.

Unfortunately, this awareness has not gained the upper hand, either in the conduct or in the working practice of many leaderships and people holding high office. Just look how many things happened during the past few weeks to divert the attention of our people from this crucial need of our time, Dizdarevic said. What enormous energy is wasted and what an atmosphere of alarm and concern has been created, and with what many organs have to concern themselves and waste their time on.

The country's political situation, Dizdarevic went on to say, is being weighed down by public and negative politization of differences and by the rife polemics between individual organs and leading personnel in the republics and autonomous provinces. In some instances these are turning into public conflicts. Political confrontations, pressures, and undemocratic methods in the attempt to overcome certain manifestations, and in the quest to find the solution for outstanding problems are spreading, while the responsibility of individual leaderships for the general internal stability of the country is evidently absent and the interests of our community as a whole are neglected.

All this poses a threat to the unity of our country and the democratic alternative for the way out of the crisis. It weakens efforts to implement economic reform and, strictly speaking, represents the biggest opposition to the reform, while it is opening up scope for activity from antisocialist, antidemocrfatic, and antireform positions.

The political situation in every republic and autonomous province, and the relations within and between them, directly reflect on the overall situation in the country. This is why the SFRY Presidency believes, Dizdarevic stressed, that all leaderships are responsible and duty-bound to take account, in every matter, of joint interests, the stability of the internal political situation, and unity throughout the country and its international position and to prevent everything which may harm it.

The condition for achieving this is, among other things, for polemics, clashes, and all activities which encourage negative politization and which exacerbate the country's relations to cease. Outstanding problems can be resolved only in a democratic way and by suppressing resolutely and politically and legally uncompromisingly any attempt to attain any objective whatsoever by applying pressure methods, destructive rallies, or by allowing events to happen in a haphazard way, Dizdarevic stressed.

The SFRY Presidency particularly draws attention to the fact that in almost all parts of the country manifestations of nationalism and the activity of nationalists are increasing. They are calling for the people to rally together on the basis of their nationality and they encourage the increasing chauvinism. National homogenization concepts are surfacing and the meetings leading to it are organized or tolerated. Nationalism is being inserted into the ranks of organized socialist forces and there are examples of flirting with nationalists which threatens to provoke further national divisions and insularity, Dizdarevic stressed.

Instead of reacting resolutely and of organizing a political struggle against such manifestations, there is increasing insistence only on the interest of one's own nation, nationality, or republic or province. while the class substance of national and overall social relations and the joint interest of Yugoslavia as a whole are either forgotten or are given a second-rate importance.

The SFRY Presidency, Dizdarevic went on to say, believes that it is the joint commitment of everyone to vigorously resist and wage a political struggle against any manifestation of nationalism or nationalist activity, and against those rallies and manifestations which open up the scope of nationalism, national division, and separatist tendencies, intolerance and hatred.

The slow way in which the difficult situation in the SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] of Kosovo is being overcome remains one of the most difficult problems. Pressure by Albanian nationalists and separatists on the Serbs and Montenegrins does not cease, intranational relations continue to get worse while emigration continues coupled with the threat of Kosovo being abandoned en masse.

The personal and property insecurity of the Serb and Montenegrin populated is one of the key reasons for emigration, Dizdarevic stressed. Both Albanian nationalists and separatists and the instigators and protagonists of Serb and Montenegrin nationalism do not want the situation in Kosovo to calm down; they want the atmosphere of insecurity and tension and division and split to persist.

We are talking a great deal about this situation in Kosovo while we should operate much more and in a more united and resolute manner so that the situation can change and improve. The SFRY Presidency considers its involvement in this sense to be one of its biggest commitments and the same applies to all other organs in the country, Dizdarevic stressed.

In recent months, Dizdarevic went on to say, we have been confronted in some environments by the escalation of attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. Use is made of all available means to harm the reputation, unity, strength, and the role of the YPA as established by the SFRY Constitution. These attacks, the spreading of political intrigues and untruths designed to sow suspicion and create a mood of unpopularity towards the YPA in some environments have not ceased. Even physical attacks, public insults, provocation, and pressure on our army personnel have occurred. The public at large has denounced this and demanded resolute reaction. This was denounced also by the public where this was happening.

Our people, our political organizations, and the organs of our system resolutely rejected the attacks on their army. They are aware that these are not only attacks on our armed forces and on the system of all-people's defense but primarily attacks on the basic achievements and values of the revolution, of our socialist self-management democratic system and unified social set-up, and on our resolve to defend and develop them.

Unfortunately, there have been and there are individual senior officials and even institutions who did not react in their environments to these attacks at all or who did not react on time and in a politically principled way. With their opportunism they are increasing the confusion which specific groups are deliberately trying to create in a section of the public. Such is the case—which is unprecedented in our country—of the attacks on the constitutionality, legality, and the legal system in connection with the trial of four defendents before the military court in Ljubljana. Military and all other courts must carry out the law and work only in accordance with the law.

Unfortunately, Dizdarevic added, this case is used by some people not to protect human rights but for entirely different and more far-reaching objectives. We are confronting attempts by groups to impose themselves on the public, the organs, and the institutions. These groups are fighting in fact for their influence and for their power and not for genuine democracy of the people and for the people, abusing and crudely manipulating the national sentiments, the difficulties of the people, and the concern of the people for a democratic way to overcome the difficulties in which our society finds itself.

What I would like, and on behalf of the Supreme Command of our armed forces I am duty bound, to stress in particular, Dizdarevic emphasized, is that the YPA personnel, its institutions, commands, and especially its leadership reacted in all principled and dignified way, refuting in this way all the attacks and provocations and devoting themselves to the greatest possible extent to the duties and efforts to promote their readiness and to adapt themselves to the pending reforms in our society.

Only a genuinely people's army can react in this way, an army which is the army of all our peoples—both the Slovene and the Serb, the Croat and the Montenegrin, the Macedonian and the Muslim and also of all the nationalities in our country—which is an inseparable part and a defense force of our unity, of our self-management socialist system, and of our Yugoslav federal and indivisible community.

As supreme commander of our armed forces, and while expressing the lasting interest of our country and using all the constitutional rights at its disposal, the SFRY Presidency resolutely stood, stands, and will stand behind all the efforts to develop and strengthen our army, to preserve its reputation and unity, and to secure everywhere full condition for a normal life and the discharge of duties of the members, commands, and institutions of the YPA. This is done so that our armed forces may remain, as they have always done, an inseparable part of the efforts for further socialist democratic transformation and for a comprehensive development and security of our country Dizdarevic stressed.

Speaking subsequently about the international situation, Dizdarevic noted that international relations are entering a new stage of development. A period has begun, he said, in which obviously there will be more dialogue, understanding, and cooperation and in which the interdependence of the world, under the influence of greater and greater achivements of the scientific and technological revolution, will continue to grow. However, to make sure this process is strengthened and that it may produce more and more concrete results, all countries must become involved to its advantage. The Nonaligned Movement has been crucially interested in it since its beginnings. During these past decades it has been involved in the starting up of this process.

However, the world of stable peace and progress nonetheless belongs to the future. The world today is still armed to the teeth. This is still a world of great contradictions, insecurity, and danger. Let us not forget that although it is without doubt of historic significance, the first agreement between the great powers reduces nuclear weapons by a mere 4 percent. Over $1 trillion are spent each year for armaments in the world, added Dizdarevic. This year alone, it is planned to spend 17 percent more resources than last year. Enormous quantities of increasingly perfect conventional weapons are being stockpiled. There are the weapons with which all wars up to now have been conducted. At present, somebody has calculated, over 20 wars are being waged.

We are deeply interested in inte national detente and disarmament and we are doing everything we can to bring it about. Yugoslavia is the only country, stressed the president of the SRFY Presidency, which this year has reduced its armed forces by 12 percent and its military expenditure for this 5-year period by as much as 10 percent. However, he added, we have not jeopardized the combat readiness and preparedness of our country,

because not for one moment can Yugoslavia forget its own security and its ability to ensure it with its own forces—convinced as it is that all countries should reduce their armed forces and armaments to a level which is necessary for their national defense and that the SFRY can go on doing that only as much as others will do it as well.

Ending his address to the young officers, Raif Dizdarevic told them never to forget that they are officers in Tito's Army, in the Army of our people, in the Army of brotherhood and unity, in the Army of self-management democratic society and its aspirations and efforts to create better and more, to live a richer and freer life and to remain an active part of the most progressive aspirations in the world.

Differences on Associated Labor Chamber Viewed
AU2206201088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jun 88 p 2

[Jovan Radovanovic commentary: "Synthesis With a Bargepole"]

[Text] During the constitutional changes discussions so far, much ink and paper has been spent in polemics over many years on whether an associated labor chamber should be introduced in the SFRY Assembly and whether the presidencies of the republics and provinces should be retained.

What makes these polemics interesting is the very clear territorial division of the views. It is hardly necessary to know the name or the office of somebody taking part in a discussion, but you can tell to which federal unit he belongs by his being "for" or "against."

The following division has been maintained since the work on the notorious Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System: The underdeveloped (conditionally labeled) part of Yugoslavia is "for" an associated labor chamber in the SFRY Assembly, and the developed north "against." Representatives of the underdeveloped republics are again chiefly "for" the abolition of the presidencies of the republics and provinces, and the developed republics, as well as representatives of the two provinces, are "against."

Recently we were able to hear Josip Vrhovec, member of the SFRY Presidency, say that the proposals for introducing an associated labor chamber in the SFRY Assembly are "unfinished." Speaking to the political aktiv of Croatian Zagorje, Vrhovec recalled the well-known arguments that such a chamber would undermine the set and agreed relations in the federation. This is a stance that Vrhovec resolutely advocated as chairman of the commission that drafted the Critical Analysis.

Ciril Ribicic was more explicit: "What is often lurking behind the proposals to introduce an associated labor chamber is a striving to change the relations in the federation and the relations between the class and the national elements, or rather between the self-managing and federal elements. It is not possible in the name of the strengthening of the role of associated labor in the federation to limit the responsibility of the republics and provinces for their own and for common development, to reduce the proportional composition of the SFRY Assembly, and to reduce the number of questions which are decided on with the consent of the republican and provincial assemblies (above all their associated labor chambers).

On the southern side, the official position of the Montenegrin Assembly may be reduced to the following: An associated labor chamber should be introduced at once so that the decisionmaking crisis in the SFRY Assembly would be overcome and that a synthesis of common interests could be made from the multiplicity of different and special interests, and thus the road opened to the formation of a unified economic system.

What position is the workers' organization taking? The trade unions of Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Montenegro are resolutely "for" VUR [Council of Associated Labor], while the trade unions of Slovenia and Kosovo are resolutely "against." In Macedonia, Croatia, and Vojvodina, they are "undecided." The divisions are very interesting.

And again, while the south is very much in favor of abolishing the republican presidencies, the Slovenes are very categorically against it. Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Montenegro are inclined toward the executive councils and the presidents of the assemblies taking over the role of the republican presidencies. Representatives of the provinces do not show much partiality to such a solution, and representatives of Slovenia say that a change in the role and the position of the republican presidency does not come into consideration within the present constitutional changes. At one of the recent sessions of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly of Slovenia, it was said that any, even the least, modification of the constitutional position of the presidency of the republic could have major consequences for the political relations in the republic and for its position in the federation. Ivan Kristan, dean of the Law Faculty in Ljubljana, speaking at the session was clear and concise: "The presidency of the republic should be seen as a status symbol and an element of republican statehood. One can think along the line of its rationalization and reorganization, but certainly not of its abolition."

Mijat Sukovic, delegate to the Federal Chamber, who has long advocated an abolition of republican and provincial presidencies, is no less clear: "Although the presidencies are not the chief reason of republican and provincial emancipation and of the polycentric statism that weakens the unity of Yugoslavia, and even less their only reason, they are one of the essential bases for the emancipation of the republics and provinces and the weakening of the Yugoslav community."

And where are we now? If we look at the Stances of the LCY Conference which concluded recently, we see that they say, among other things, that the LC will strive for "an essential increase in the associated labor influence in decisionmaking in the SFRY Assembly, in keeping with the demands widely expressed in the public discussion. Therefore it is necessary, in the further work on preparing the constitutional amendments proposals, to perceive thoroughly all the arguments and to assess the proposals which lead to this, including the proposals referring to the setting up of an associated labor chamber in the SFRY Assembly."

It is also said in the Stances that the LC will strive for "a thorough reexamination, or rather restriction of the role and the powers of the presidencies of the republics and provinces, including the question of whether their existence is justified."

If anybody expected the First LCY Conference to be a place for a Yugoslav synthesis, for instance, of the contrasting views on an associated labor chamber and the presidencies of the republics, they were wrong. Even after all these years of discussions, it is still recommended that the well-known arguments be "thoroughly perceived" and "thoroughly reexamined." The thoroughness is necessary, but not if it is protracted through so many years of "reexamination." In addition, if a venue was to be sought where a synthesis of Yugoslav stands were to be found and created, it had to be the LCY Conference. It seems that in many respects, at least in this case, it was unable to be this venue.

We know the arguments "for" and "against." The question remains: Where and in which way should a synthesis of various positions be achieved?

Italy Criticized for Tourist Regulation Change

LD2107123988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1032 GMT 21 Jul 88

[By Ljubica Markovic]

[Text] Rome, July 21 (TANJUG)—As of July first, Italy abolished the regulation which had made it simple for Italians to travel to Yugoslavia. Under the regulation, no passports were necessary for Italian tourists who came to Yugoslavia by ferry-boat at the height of the tourist season and stayed no longer than three days.

The regulation was effective for almost 15 years but was never extended to all visits to Yugoslavia, as Yugoslavia had requested. Even in its limited form, however, it was not rigidly applied. The regulation was abolished this summer because of bureaucratic obstacles. The direct damage to Yugoslav tourism is already evident, over one thousand visitors have cancelled their travel arrangements, more cancellations are coming in, and almost one third of the ferry-boat reservations have been cancelled.

The damage is obvious, Yugoslav Ambassador to Italy Ante Skataretiko has said. The decision took everyone by surprise, including Yugoslav and Italian tourist agents. The Yugoslav Embassy has already lodged a verbal protest with the Italian authorities.

The regulation was tolerated in a broader sense by both sides for years. Italians came to Yugoslavia even without the otherwise obligatory return ticket and remained more than three days, or even returned to Italy by land without a passport. Yacht owners also took advantage of the regulation. Meanwhile, Yugoslav regulations suited these travelers, since a foreigner who enters Yugoslavia without a passport almost always gets a permit to stay in the country for 30 days.

The Yugoslav Embassy in Rome described the decision of the Italian authorities as "hard to understand and incorrect, to say the least". According to initial reports, it has affected mostly tourists traveling by ferry or yacht, or who visit the very popular Medjugorje.

It is not clear whether the Italian decision is a matter of ill will, sheer bureaucratic logic, or fear of competition. It is probably also a matter of pressure by Italian hotel owners and a desire to keep tourists at home, Rome representative of the Yugoslav tourist Federation Guido Uni has said.

Although it is not among the countries where Italians spend most money, Yugoslavia nevertheless ranks third on the list of countries favored by Italians, following France and Spain. Italians spent between 650 and 700 billion lire in Yugoslavia last year. Meanwhile, Italy last year registered the greatest drop in net earning from tourism, primarily because the average Italian is able to travel abroad more than before.